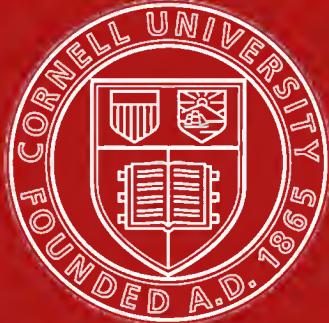




A Bibliography of  
The King's Book  
or Eikon Basilike



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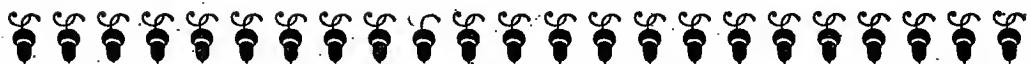
A Bibliography of  
**The King's Book**  
or Eikon Basilike



*Only one hundred and fifty copies of this Large Paper Edition  
have been printed, of which this is No. 90*

*Rand, Sherriff & Rand*

*Publishers.*



I dedicate this Work to  
Edward F. Coates,  
my staunchest, truest, friend.

A generous friendship no cold medium knows,  
Burns With one love, With one resentment glosse.

*Iliad Bk. ix. l. 412.*

E. A.



A Bibliography of  
The King's Book  
or Eikon Basilike

BY EDWARD ALMACK

(MEMBER OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.)

LONDON  
BLADES, EAST & BLADES  
23, ABCHURCH LANE, E.C  
1896

*ABR.*



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23, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.*

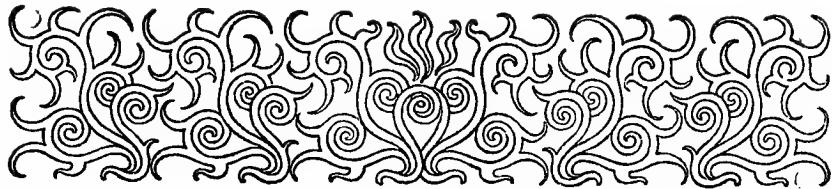
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" " No. 3	" " <i>Eikon</i> No. 41
" " No. 4	" " <i>Eikon</i> No. 53





## A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE KING'S BOOK; OR, EIKON BASILIKE.

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**N** writing a bibliography of the *Eikon Basilike* I have aimed at giving full information in a simple form, avoiding pedantry and academic expressions, considering that a bibliography is not for the use of bibliographers only. Having regard also to Dr. Copinger's reminder to the Bibliographical Society, that there is no reason why a bibliography should not be made of some general interest, I have deliberately endeavoured to relieve the dull landscape with lights and shadows, at the risk of being reproved for not keeping to the driest facts of bibliography only.

The *Bibliographer* (No. 15, February, 1883) contains an article of three pages on the *Eikon Basilike*, 1648, by Mr. Edward Solly, F.R.S., who evidently purposed making some sort of a bibliography of the subject; but he died, and most of his own *Eikons* are now the property of Mr. Falconer Madan, of Bodley's, from whom I have received much friendly encouragement in this undertaking. Mr. E. Solly was a collector of Civil War Tracts, and used to relate that the most valuable collection of scarce works that he ever bought, was obtained in the following manner:—"He was standing at the door of Mr. Salkeld's picturesque old book store, when

a small cart load of waste paper hove in sight. He forthwith hailed the driver, asked Mr. Salkeld to accompany him, with the cart, to the nearest butcher's shop, to have the paper weighed, and had very soon completed his bargain, without giving good Mr. Salkeld—from ‘canny Newcastle’—any chance of overhauling the spoil.”

In treating this subject, it seems desirable to give as fully as practicable—

An account of the various editions of the *Eikon* (*see* from p. 143 to the end of the book);

A list of writings upon the *Eikon* (*see* pp. 72–87);\*

A few of the evidences in support of the royal authorship (*see* pp. 88–96);

A few of the evidences (so-called) in favour of Gauden's authorship (*see* pp. 96–117).

The key to the description of each edition of the *Eikon* is as follows:—

1st. *Title page.*

2nd. *Binding measurement.* (A somewhat variable figure.)

*Text measurement*, exclusive of pagination, signatures, running title, and catch-word. (Even this is not quite a fixed quantity.)

3rd. *Signatures.* (Nos. 16, 17, 18, 36, and 40, are really 24mos, each *signature* comprising only a half-sheet, but No. 41 is a 12mo. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 25, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 51, 52, 53, and 59, are 12mos.)

4th. *Pagination.*

Of course neither 3 nor 4 will usually include every leaf in the volume, but the

5th part will describe the edition from cover to cover.

I claim as a unique distinction that, together with my own written descriptions, I have handed the compositor a copy of each edition, and

---

\* No attempt has been made to enumerate all the various references to the *Eikon* that have from time to time been made, such as in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Notes and Queries*, or in the writings of historians. I do not mean that I have neglected to read these.

he has, with extreme care, imitated everything exactly as found in the copy before him. Occasionally it has been necessary to cut types for the purpose. To have used the word "*sic*" wherever a mistake has to be printed would have been nauseous both to writer and reader.

At the end of this book will be found "guards" for additional leaves to contain information which it is hoped that those who take any interest in the subject will kindly send to me, through the publishers, Messrs. Blades, East & Blades. When this book has been out about a year, I shall sift and arrange for press whatever may have come to light, and the publishers have kindly undertaken to send these leaves to all subscribers who give their addresses.

The present work aims essentially at describing the editions of *Eikon Basilike*; but to have written it without frequently introducing the vexed question of authorship would have been difficult.

It is to be regretted that so many of the public of to-day do not read books, but only skip through extracts from notices of reviews of reviews of books. Whilst engaged on this bibliography, I have been applied to several times for the loan of an *Eikon*. It has been read through, with the result that in each case the borrower has been touched with a spontaneous feeling of deep sympathy for Charles the First.

The fate of Charles the First has aroused deep emotions in the minds of Britons for close on two hundred and fifty years. A few hours after the King's execution, his book was in the hands of the people, and so marvellous was its effect, that contemporary authorities declare that nothing but the Government's ingenious and persistent condemnations of the work prevented an immediate restoration of the monarchy. Those engaged in the publication were hunted down and imprisoned; but, in spite of every obstacle, the anxiety of the Cavaliers to possess copies of this touching memorial was so great, and the perseverance of the printers so determined, that the work was newly put in type over and over again, and published with a rapidity that has never to this day been equalled. Fresh editions appeared almost daily at first, and afterwards every week. A considerable number of editions have

appeared in this century, including one published in 1879 by Parkers, with a long introduction by Miss Phillimore; the latest being Mr. Edward J. L. Scott's, issued in the following year. (*See pp. 123-42.*)

Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity, writing in 1824, and Mr. Edward J. L. Scott, Keeper of the Department of MSS. at the British Museum, writing in 1880, expressed the great desirability of gathering together all the various issues, describing and classifying them, and thereby opening the way to the elucidation of the authorship.

It may be asked why the title page speaks of "The King's Book." The answer is that, at the time of its first appearance, and subsequently, the *Eikon* was constantly thus spoken of, and written about. The natural assumption is that the King wrote it. It remains for someone to prove that he did not write it. It will generally be found that the person who readily declares an opinion adverse to the King, and in favour of Gauden, has not read the *Eikon*. A touching pathos and simple dignity pervade every chapter. In reading these meditations, the King's subjects instantly recognised the stamp of the King's own character in every page. Running through every chapter there is a vein of calmness and patience, pre-eminently characteristic of Charles the First. Some scores of copies which I have, bear evidences of having been read and read again from Alpha to Omega.\* Mr. Walter Hamilton, of the Record Office, daily and hourly steeped to the lips in the true history of the period, venerated much the King's character. He regretted his fatal tendency to "state-craft;" but writing—mark you—before the immortal William learnt "lightning somersaults," he did not think that we of to-day could safely take to stone-throwing.

There is one sure sign whereby an attack, old or new, on the King's authorship may be known. All with one accord make a whining apology for bringing the indictment, and irresistibly call up to mind Sir Richard Grenville's explosion in *Westward Ho!* where he tells some canting knave that "he never heard a man begin to prate of his honour, and his conscience, but he knew that he was about to tell a bigger lie than he was wont."

---

\* The text of some editions is headed "A" and ends "Ω."

Although Cromwell, Milton, and their friends had absolute control of the press during the period, the books concocted to condemn the *Eikon* and the royal author were hardly ever reprinted. There was evidently no sale for them. A most striking point in proof of the disregard shown to these pretended efforts to deny the King's right to the book is, that whereas a 1648-9 *Eikon* may be bought any day, a copy of a contemporary work against the *Eikon* is about as rare as an egg of the great auk.

As regards Gauden's claim—why did he pretend that he had written it? He has himself given the answer. He made the claim in order to obtain preferment; and he was successful in his object. Whereas the early evidences in support of the King are numerous and varied, those in support of the pretender resolve themselves solely into the interested claims of Gauden himself, supported, as Eliot Warburton remarks, by his garrulous wife. Mrs. Gauden, with a woman's shrewdness, helped, perhaps instigated, her husband's claim; but after the pretence had served its purpose, and the two bishoprics had been enjoyed to the full, she counselled timely repentance, and confession of the imposture, so that Gauden, having enjoyed the patronage of the powers of this world, might not fail of the favour of the Ruler of the world to come. No one has attempted to show that the general style and tone of the *Eikon* differ from the King's known writings and line of thought. Nobody has ever pretended that Gauden—a cowring, craving, conceited, mean-spirited creature—wrote anything before, or after, approaching to the *Eikon* in dignity and beauty. These uncomplimentary epithets are introduced deliberately, because, after reading the *Eikon* and reading Gauden's known writings, it seems impossible to imagine such a man writing the former work.

At last a genuine, original, sworn testimony, by the printer of the original *Eikon*, has come to light, and, most unkindly! the word "Gauden" is nowhere inscribed on it! It is as follows:—

Wm. DuGard printed

1. The King's incomparable Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ, which he received from Mr. Simmons, his Majesty's chaplain.
2. *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia.*

3. *Salmasii Defensio Regia*: for which he was cast into Newgate, his wife and six children turned out of doors, and had been tried for his life by an High Court of Injustice, had not Sir James Harrington saved him from that danger, and procured his release; and therefore in point of civility he thought he might entertain him for lodging in his house, being by the Act of Indemnity pardoned, as to life, and ready to render himself to his Majesty's pleasure whosoever his Majesty should so require it.

Ità testor, GUIL. DUGARD.

April 28, 1649. I received a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas from the Hague, with approbation of my service for his Majesty in that condition and withal a book to print entitled *Στρατηγικοί*, which afterwards was printed, though I could not do it then, in the time of my troubles. (See *fac-simile* on next page.)

It is calendared at the Record Office as belonging to October, 1661, and, though there is no reference from one to the other, the reason for it is explained by the following document:—

The examination of Edward Short Esq one | of the gentlemen of his Matys Band of | Pensioners, taken December 15th 1660 | The Examinate saith that having had a suspicion | eight dayes before that some person obnoxious to his | matys Government concealed him- selfe | in the house of Wm DuGard at | Newington Butts by St Georges fields | he went last night accompanied with | the Headborrow of Newington & 3 | persons more to the house of the | said DuGard to search and there | found Sr James Harrington (who called himselfe by the name | of Edwards) and arrested him in the Kings name: | and intended to have lead him in | custody to his own house; but Mr | DuGard engaging himselfe body | for body on the penalty of five | thousand pounds that he should be | forthcoming whosoever demaunded | the said examinate left him in the | house of the said DuGard: but this morning | coming to the house to demand his prisoner | he found that both the said Sr James Harrington & DuGard | had absented themselves. | EDW: SHORTE.

The two documents illustrate that the true story was of even far more romantic interest than tradition had represented.

I have culled the following particulars from Mr. Leslie Stephens' account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*:—

Sir James Harrington, 1611-77, served in the regiment of William, Lord Craven, fighting for the Queen of Hearts. Afterwards travelled through France to Rome. Excused himself to Charles the First for not kissing the Pope's toe, "he would not kiss the foot of any prince after kissing the King's hand." He followed the King with Herbert from Newcastle to Holmeby. He was with the King in the Isle of Wight and at Hurst Castle. Toland and Aubrey say that he accompanied the King to the scaffold.

*Oceana* was issued in 1656. In 1659 Harrington was engaged in a controversy arising from *Oceana*, and he formed a club called the "Rota," which lasted from November, 1659, to February, 1659-60. On the 26th November, 1661, he was committed to the Tower.

Wm DuGard printed

1. G Kings incomparabilis finis Bolosilix  
such was sent from Mr Simmons, his  
Master's Chaplain.

2. Elenchus Motuum nuperarum in Anglia:

3. Salmagii Dafonfio Regia: for  
which was cast into Newgate, his wife & 6  
children turned out of doors: he had been  
tried for his life by an high Court of Justice,  
had not Sir James Harrington saved him  
from it danger, & got out his release. He  
therefore in point of civilitie <sup>thought he</sup> might  
entertain him for lodging in his house, being  
by an Act of indemnity pardoned, as to life, &  
ready to render himself to his master's pleasure  
whencever his master should require it.

Witness  
Guil. DuGard.

April 28 1649. I send  
a true copy to Mr Edw. Nicolae  
at the Hague, with approbation of  
my Service for his master in these  
& without a Book to print (sent to him  
Salamagii Dafonfio) no afterward was  
printed, though I could not do it then, in  
my time of my troubles.

In the index to the State Papers he is not distinguished from his cousin, Sir James Harrington, son of his father's elder brother Sir Edward Harrington, who was on the commission for trying the King; was afterwards a member of the Council of State, and at the Restoration was excepted from Acts of Pardon.

Warrants were out for his arrest at the same time as for his cousin of the same name. He felt a strong personal attachment to Charles the First, and was said to have been overwhelmed with grief at his death.

At page 14 of *The Oceana and other Works of James Harrington, with an Account of his Life* (By John Toland. London: Printed for T. Beckett and T. Cadell, in the Strand; and T. Evans, in King Street, Covent Garden. MDCCLXXI.), will be found:—

9. He had the good luck to grow very acceptable to the King, who much convers'd with him about books and foren countrys. In his sister's papers I find it exprest, that at the King's command he translated into English Dr. Sanderson's Book concerning the obligation of oaths; but Anthony Wood says it was the King's own doing, and that he shew'd it at different times to Harrington, Herbert, Dr. Juxon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sheldon, for their approbation. However that be, 'tis certain he served his master with untainted fidelity, without doing anything inconsistent with the liberty of his country; and that he made use of his interest with his friends in Parliament to have matters accomodated for the satisfaction of all partys. During the treaty in the Isle of Wight, he frequently warn'd the divines of his acquaintance to take heed how far they prest the King to insist upon any thing which, however it concern'd their dignity, was no essential point of religion; and that such matters driven too far wou'd infallibly ruin all the indeavours us'd for a peace; which prophecy was prov'd too true by the event. "His majesty lov'd his company, says Anthony Wood, and, finding him to be an ingenious man, chose rather to converse with him than with others of his chamber; they had often discourses concerning government; but when they happen'd to talk of a commonwealth, the King seem'd not to indure it." Here I know not which most to commend, the King for trusting a man of republican principles, or Harrington for owning his principles while he serv'd a king.

10. After the King was remov'd out of the Isle of Wight to Hurstcastle in Hampshire, Harrington was forcibly turn'd out of service, because he vindicated som of his majesty's arguments against the parliament commissioners at Newport, and thought his concessions not so unsatisfactory as did som others. As they were taking the King to Windsor, he beg'd admittance to the boot of the coach, that he might bid his master farewell; which being granted, and he preparing to kneel, the King took him by the hand, and pull'd him into him. He was for three or four days permitted to stay; but because he would not take an oath against assisting or concealing the King's escape, he was not only discharged from his office, but also for som time detain'd in custody, till Major-general

Ireton obtain'd his liberty. He afterwards found means to see the King at St. James's, and accompany'd him on the scaffold, where, or a little before, he receiv'd a token of his majesty's affection.

The Harrington mentioned by DuGard and Short was the *Oceana* Harrington. DuGard's mention of his being included in the Act of Indemnity ear-marks this point.

William DuGard must have been a very remarkable man, as is proved by the following particulars, taken from Dr. Westly Gibson's account of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*:—

William Dugard, 1606–62, son of the Revd. Henry Dugard, was born at the Hodges, Bromsgrove Lickey, Worcestershire, 9 January, 1605–6. He became B.A. in 1626, and M.A. in 1630. In 1626 he was an usher at Oundle, and in 1630 was made Master of Stamford School. In 1635 he sued the Corporate authorities for misappropriation of School lands and other abuses. In 1637 he was appointed Master of Colchester Grammar School. He increased the number of scholars from nine to sixty-nine, and repaired the school at his own expense, but gave offence to the townsmen, and was compelled to resign in January, 1642–3. In May, 1644, he was chosen Head-Master of Merchant Taylors' School in London. In 1648 the Court of Aldermen elected him Examiner of their Schools in the country. He printed at his private press *Salmasius Defensio Regia* in 1649–50. The Council of State committed him to Newgate, ordered the destruction of his presses and implements, and directed the Merchant Taylors' Company to dismiss him from their school. His wife and family were turned out of doors, and his printing effects, worth £1,000, seized. After a month's imprisonment, however, his release was effected by his friend Milton, and his peace made with Parliament. It is said by Dr. Gill, on the strength of Dugard's assertion upon his death-bed, that Milton found Dugard printing an edition of the *Eikon Basilike* about the time of his arrest, and compelled the insertion of the prayer from Sidney's *Arcadia*, which he afterwards ridiculed in the *Eikonoklastes*. Milton's answer to *Salmasius* was printed at Dugard's press. On Dugard's release from Newgate, he opened a private school on St. Peter's Hill.

Bradshaw, however, a few months afterwards, ordered the Merchant Taylors' Company to replace him for his special services to the public as schoolmaster, and as printer to the Council of State. After a third peremptory letter, Dugard was reinstated on September 25, 1650. In 1651–2, some of his books were publicly burnt by order of the House of Commons, such as *The Racorian Catechism*; yet in the same year he printed a French translation of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*. In June, 1661, after public warning by the School authorities for various breaches of order, chiefly in taking an excessive number of scholars, he was dismissed. A month after, he opened a private school in White's Alley, Coleman Street, and soon had 193 pupils. He died 3 December, 1662. He lived at Newington

Butts in 1660, when he concealed in his house James Harrington, author of *Oceana*, and gave a bond for him of £5,000. This was in gratitude to Harrington, who had saved him formerly from being tried for his life.

Three points at once come to mind on reading DuGard's and Short's affidavits:—(1). That probably Harrington had seen the King writing the book. (2). That neither DuGard nor Harrington would have taken these strong measures in the matter of a book about, and not by, the King. (3). That were the *Eikon* an imposture, here was DuGard's splendid opportunity to make sure of his own safety by saying, instead of what he wrote, something like this: "The book was not King Charles's, as I can prove; but only let me go in peace, and I will keep the secret."

The four following numbers of the *Academy*—May 12, May 26, June 9, and June 30, 1883, contain articles by Mr. Charles E. Doble, on the authorship of the *Eikon*. The writer has spared no pains in studying the subject from his own point of view. It is only to be regretted that he should find it necessary, in advocating the claims of Gauden, to start by resolving to ignore all external evidences. The impression conveyed by reading his analysis of the work is that of a man examining a picture with his face almost touching the canvas. In the first article, Mr. Doble deals especially with resemblances between expressions used in the *Eikon* and used elsewhere by Gauden; in the second, he refers much to the Rev. E. Symmons' *Vindication of King Charles*, printed in 1648; in the third, he writes of the course of events as alluded to in the *Eikon*; and in the last, he remarks on editions and printers.

Mr. Doble's articles detailed some very interesting particulars respecting the *Eikon*. I have only just recently seen them, and am glad to find that, working separately, we have both identified DuGard as printer of *Eikon* No. 1. (I had also noted Grismond as probably printing some editions for Royston.) Mr. Doble put this point very strongly, and showed how DuGard was undoubtedly most closely associated with the *Eikon*. Now, I have found DuGard's own solemn assertion that he printed it, distinctly naming it as the King's. Thus are Mr. Doble's arguments for Gauden's authorship turned against himself. Mr. Doble also pointed out, in a very interesting manner, that emblems printed in Gauden's books were afterwards

adapted to editions of the *Eikon* and *Reliquiae Sacrae*. Of course they were, seeing that DuGard had printed for Gauden. In short, to use a colloquial phrase, Mr. Doble's points went to prove that the "get up" of the *Eikon* was DuGard's work; but as DuGard also put together Gauden's publications for the press, what wonder that there should be a resemblance in arrangement? As an instance of this editing of DuGard's, notice the expressions "incomparable *Eikon Basilike*" and "High Court of Injustice," used by DuGard in his affidavit, and in early editions of the *Reliquiae Sacrae*. Mr. Doble laid stress upon the *Reliquiae Sacrae*, published after the Restoration, having some stage properties which had, in a different form, been used in one of Gauden's books. Here, again, we are to suppose that in the *edition de luxe* of the *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolineae* including the *Eikon*, produced, with care and leisure, specially to honour the late King, the editors would be guilty of the mad folly of inserting landmarks to guide the enemy to declare Gauden as the composer. Was not Field the real author of the *Eikon*, as the engraving by Hollar, which is the first leaf of the first folio *Reliquiae*, had been used in Field's Bible? Mr. Doble described the original *Eikon* frontispiece as a crude performance, and argued therefrom that the King had not drawn it. Behold another step on the right ladder, for it seems hardly necessary to add that this is in favour of the picture being by an amateur such as the King, and not by a hand accustomed to the rules of Art, and the exigencies of drawing for reproduction. Again, Mr. Doble called particular attention to proofs of the Rev. E. Symmons' connection with the *Eikon*, and now we have DuGard's avowal that he received the King's Book from Symmons. Mr. Doble noticed resemblances between the *Eikon* and the *Vindication of the King*, written by the Rev. Edward Symmons. The *Eikon* and Symmons' *Vindication*, which preceded it, were both written to defend the King, and would therefore have some likeness to each other. Mr. Doble reasoned that Gauden must have made use of the *Vindication* to help him to write the *Eikon*. It does not seem to have occurred to him that it was notorious that the King perused Symmons' *Vindication* with deep interest, and, in gratitude to the author, afterwards, when the *Eikon* was finished, handed it to him to have it printed. Accordingly nothing could be more natural

than that the King's composition should bear traces of what he had just read upon the same story as he was himself telling. I know not how sufficiently to thank Mr. Doble for his many justifications of the title of Charles the First to the authorship of *Eikon Basileus*.

Mr. Doble elicited from Dr. Gardiner the opinion that whoever wrote the *Eikon*, Charles the First did not write it. Now, if Dr. Gardiner were to read the *Eikon* through, and study the matter, his judgment would be most valuable. In the meantime, such an expression as the above is akin to that of the magistrate who refused to convict because some witnesses swore that they had not seen the prisoner throw the stones, and the other case where a witness accurately defined the measure of the stone thrown as "about the size of a lump of chalk." That even a man so skilled, and so familiar with all the Civil War authorities, as Dr. Gardiner may easily fail in identifying a well-known author, the following extracts from two letters will illustrate:—

. . . . . LONDON, E.C., 16th May, 1893.

The MS. relating chiefly to Scottish affairs during the Civil Wars, which you left with Mr. . . . . the other day, seems of great historical interest. . . . . I have reason to believe, however, that the Scottish Historical Society . . . . would undertake its publication if the Council's opinion of the MS. should prove as favourable as that already expressed by Prof. Gardiner and other experts here.

. . . . . EDINBURGH, 31st May, 1893.

I regret to say that Bishop . . . . . on examining your manuscript discovered it to be the *Memoirs of Bishop H. Guthry*, printed in London in 1702, and in Glasgow in 1747. The text of your MS. is said to be superior to that of the printed copies, in which are some verbal alterations and omissions.

The owner of the MS. volume was treated with the utmost possible consideration throughout the little correspondence. Mr. Doble, following other writers on the subject, thinks that the *Eikon* is too ecclesiastical in style for a king. On the other hand, Dr. Gardiner, in his *Life of Charles the First* for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has affirmed that the King was very much at home in using the weapons of religious arguments. This was always stated by the King's contemporaries; but it is worth while to note Dr. Gardiner's confirmation. Mr. Doble has quoted separate words, and occasionally several together, used by Gauden, and compared them with the King's writings. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth

took, bodily, entire paragraphs by the two writers, as witness on p. 312 of *Who Wrote Eikon Basilike?* where, after alluding to the King's wish that his death should not be revenged, he goes on:—

Let us pause for a moment at this word REMEMBER,\* to cast our eyes towards Dr. Gauden.

Gauden published a Book called *Σπραχτηλευτικος, A just invective against those of the Army and their abettors who murdered King Charles I.* This Book, he tells us, he wrote on the tenth of February, immediately after the murder of the King; that is, probably not more than a month or two after he must have composed the closing chapters of the *Icōn.* [In DuGard's affidavit we now have the date of Gauden's work confirmed. (See pp. 6 and 7.)] Let us take a passage or two from this wretched Piece, to compare with what we have now learned of the temper of the King; that temper so emphatically expressed by the word *Remember.* He is speaking to the Army.

"Go on, you *Apollyons*, you *Abaddons*, in the spirit of Antichrist to fill up the measure of your abominations, till you are drunk with blood, and stumble and fall together. O you locusts, the blackest smoke, and noisomest vapour that ever the breath of the bottomless Pit exhaled, or sent forth into the Christian World . . . .

"We assure you that you are now looked upon by all sober and honest minds, as the heaviest and filthiest *Incubuses* that ever oppressed Church or State; as the Legions of unclean Spirits, which by diabolical arts and magic of hypocrisy, have got possession of this Church and Kingdom, till Christ by his power cast you out, and suffer you like the Demoniack Swine, through the just judgment of God, to be hurried headlong by your own terrors, and despairs, into the Lake that burns with fire and brimstone.

"You are like cursed *Chams*, not mockers only, but murtherers, of the Father of your country; impudent ravishers both of Church and State, to satisfy your most abominable lusts of tyranny, covetousness, and all licentious prophaneness.

"Monsters of men, putid Apostates, execrable Saints, shameless Sinners, traitorous Tyrants, what have you to plead for, or palliate with your late horrid outrages, and unparalleled villainies?

"Nor do we doubt but all the curses written in the book of God (which like that of Meroz, have been causelessly, factiously and falsely, by some of your double-faced Januses" (he here refers to his friend and neighbour, Stephen Marshall) "formerly imprecated upon the King, and his loyalest subjects, will certainly overtake, and fall upon both you, and your viperous Generation . . . .

"We tell you, we are so far from counting you Saints and Saviours, that we look upon you as the Tophet which God hath indeed prepared for the King, and these kingdoms, to try and correct them awhile. But, we doubt not, God will at last cast you, who are our Sin, our Death, and our Hell, into the Lake that burns with fire and brimstone for ever."

Lastly :

"How can such *Zimris*, who have so traitorously slain such a King, their Lord and Master, ever hope to have peace, or impunity in this, or the other world? . . . . Nor will, we hope, our Solomon" (Charles II.) "by God's blessing, and his subjects' assistance, suffer the hairy scalps of those who were the chief Counsellors and Actors, in destroying his dear Father, and our dread Sovereign, to go down to the grave in peace, or to die a dry death, who have shed the blood of war, in a time when all differences were by a treaty drawn to a peace and union."

Let us now produce a passage or two from the *Icōn.*

"If Thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety, and honor, to my chieftest City, and my Parliament:

"If Thou wilt again put the sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect:

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\* The King's dying injunction to Bishop Juxon, that only his actual murderers should ever be punished.

"Then will I make all the world to see, and my very enemies to enjoy, the benefit of *this Vow* and Resolution of Christian Charity which I *now* make unto Thee, O Lord.

"As I do freely pardon, for Christ's sake, those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

"We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions. For Thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, that I will use all means in the way of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

"Let Thy Mercies be towards Me and Mine, as my resolutions of truth and peace are toward my people.

"Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips." (Chap. xxv.)

Again: In the Chapter entitled, *To the Prince of Wales*.

"But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency, to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure, may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

"I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion to so great a latitude, as may include all that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws: and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

"I would have you always propense to the same way. Whenever it shall be desired and expected, let it be granted; not only as an act of State-Policy, but of Christian charity and choice.

"It is all I have now left, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all. And I thank God that I have a heart to do it: and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments. For this is a greater argument of God's love to me than any prosperity can be."

Lastly: near the end of the Book.

"O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their mercies to me, as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

"O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men: but overcome their cruelty with Thy compassion and my charity.

"And when Thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent souls, with the blood of Thy Son; that Thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

"Though they think my kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me; yet let the capacious kingdom of Thy infinite Mercy at last receive both Me and my Enemies.

"When being reconciled to Thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities."

Now, my Lord, is it possible that these sentiments of sublime and Christian Piety and Charity should flow from the same breast and within a few days, with that execrable trash, which I cited before from the *Invective*?

Mr. Doble has mentioned one or two phrases as too poor language for the King to have used. Would he then place Charles the First as a greater writer than Milton, who wrote the following, and many pages more of a like character? Masson, in his *Life of Milton* (Vol. IV., p. 141), quoting from Milton's *Eikonoklastes*, asks:—

Whose innocent blood he hath shed, what widow's or orphan's tears can witness against him? After the suspected poisoning of his father, not inquired into, but smothered up, and him protected and advanced to the very half of his kingdom, who was accused in Parliament to be the author of the fact! After so many years of cruel war on his people in three kingdoms! Whence the author of TRUTHS MANIFEST, a Scotchman not unacquainted with affairs, positively affirms "That there hath been more Christian

blood shed by the commission, approbation, and connivance of King Charles and his father James, in the latter end of their reign, than in the Ten Roman Persecutions." Not to speak of those many whippings, pillories, and other corporal inflictions wherewith his reign also before the war was not unbloody, some have died in prison under cruel restraint, others in banishment, whose lives were shortened through the rigour of the persecution wherewith so many years he infested the true Church. And those six members all men judged to have escaped no less than capital danger; whom he so greedily pursuing into the House of Commons had not there the forbearance to conceal how much it humbled him that "the birds were flown."

The foregoing is not from the mouth of a Hyde Park ranter on a Saturday afternoon, but from the pen of John Milton!

To write of Dr. Garnett, is to think of the British Museum—a place of pleasant surprises, for it is a Government institution *without* red tape, and a place where it is positively delightful to find yourself in a difficulty, owing to the cheerful kindly aid at hand on all sides. Time would fail me to tell of Graves, of Fletcher, of Barwick, of Pollard, and many more whose names are written in pleasant memories. Dr. Garnett, who has written, in that interesting vein so peculiar to himself, two books on Milton, has very naturally expressed regret that no contemporary document asserting the royal authorship of the *Eikon* was known to exist. It is very pleasing to be able now to give a satisfactory reply to this—(1) by the document just produced; (2) by Mr. E. J. L. Scott's reference, in his preface (*see p. 128*), to the document at Lambeth:—

One of the most valuable testimonies to the existence of a "Naseby Copy" (*i.e.*, a copy of the first seven chapters of the *Eikon*, which is said to have been taken by the Parliamentary forces, along with the Royal papers, after the battle of Naseby), has lately turned up in the library at Lambeth Palace, where is preserved the copy of this work, formerly in the possession of Archbishop Tenison. On the last page, in the Autograph of the owner, is the following memorandum:—

D[octor] Mew, L[ord] B[ishop] of Winchester, had often told me (& he repeated it again before ye B[ishop] of Peterburgh in ye B[ishop]s Cha[m]ber on Jan. 30th, 1698, bef[ore] we went to West[minster] Abbey, that at Naseby-fight he saw ye K[ing]s Closet Keeper before ye fight began carry out the Kings papers to ye Camp; & ye aft[e]r ye Fight he saw divers of them torn, and amo[n]gst these fragm[en]ts took up some pieces of eik[ών] βασ[ιλεύ] written with ye Kings own hand

Thof[mas] Cantuar[iensis].

The existence of this Naseby copy has always been considered to be fatal to Gauden's claim, as he declared that he began to compose the *Eikon* in or about the year 1647, and all his supporters are unanimous in saying that the only papers lost by the King at Naseby were those published by the Parliament, and among these is no trace of the *Eikon*. Many

of the arguments are based on the fact that no mention is found of *Eikon Basilei* in any books or correspondence previous to the King's death; but this is manifestly absurd, because the work only received its Greek title at the time of its publication. Dr. Wordsworth produced no less than nine evidences in favour of a Naseby copy, but taken collectively they are not so weighty or decisive as this newly-found memorandum. It is very strange that Todd, who was Librarian at Lambeth Palace, should have mentioned two copies of the book as being in the Library, and yet should have said nothing of Archbishop Tenison's copy, however damaging to the cause he was seeking to uphold. As however the edition is not an English one, but the Latin translation by Bishop Earle, he may have overlooked it altogether. and (3) by this latest contribution:—Mr. E. J. L. Scott writes to me under date, British Museum, 19 August, 1895, “You will be very glad to hear that I have lately unearthed Prince Rupert's MS. Catalogue of his Library (Sloane MS., 555), dated A.D. 1677, wherein his books are arranged under three headings, thus:

TITLE.		AUTHOR.		DATE.
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and at Nos. 332 and 350 are—

TITLE.		AUTHOR.		DATE.
332. Icon Bazilica		K. Cha: y <sup>e</sup> first		1648
350. The Pourtrature of his Sacred Ma <sup>tie</sup> Icon Bazillicā		K. Cha: y <sup>e</sup> first		1648

Now Prince Rupert died in 1682, so these entries uncontestedly prove that up to within five years of his death he believed in his uncle's authorship.”

Strong indirect evidence has also come to light in my finding that one of the first acts of Charles the Second on coming to his father's throne, was to make a very special personal request to the Stationers' Company to at once make Richard Royston a member of their Court (*see* p. 20). It is not amiss to mention that not even a fragment of MS. bearing witness to Gauden's pretended authorship has come to light.

Besides contriving to assign the printing of certain editions to particular printers, some of the most interesting fresh light now thrown upon the *Eikon* will be found in what has resulted from examining the records of the Stationers' Company. All the letters and deeds in the possession of the Stationers' Company perished in the Great Fire, but, by good fortune, the

registers and minute books were just then at the Clerk's own house in the suburbs. Mr. Rivington, the present Clerk of the Company, and author of a pamphlet on the Company's possessions, kindly gave me ready encouragement. Very fittingly, this office almost seems to descend by hereditary right in the Rivington family.

It appeared on the whole better to print these extracts consecutively than to introduce them at various points, and anyone at all interested in the study of this part of the bibliography should have frequent recourse to the index. The extract relating to "tenn of the most grave tall and comely personages" is merely introduced for its general interest, and to call up a picture of how bashful the "comely men" sitting in Committee must have felt, and the unhappy feelings of any members of the Court not endowed with "fair countenances and stately mien." In a volume called "Entries of Copies 1645 to 1656":—

(At page 132.) 21st August 1648.

Mr. Legatt. Assigned over unto him by virtue of a note under the hand & seale of Mr. John Waterson & subscribed by bothe the Wardens all the estate right title & interest which the said Mr. Waterson hath in these copies and parts of copies following *Sidney's Arcadia turned over to Mr. Dugard, page 168.* 1 Sydney's *Arcadia.* halfe. (The rest—2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, are not to our purpose.)

(Page 168.) 20th October 1649.

Wm. Dugard. Assigned over unto him by vertue of a note under the hand & seale of Mr Legatt & with consent of Mr Waterson all the estate right title & interest which, the said Mr Legatt or the said Mr Waterson gave or claimed in the book or copie called Sir Philip Sidneys or the Countesse of Pembrooks *Arcadia.*

It has always been said that DuGard was induced to print Pamela's prayer as one of the prayers at the end of the *Eikon*, in order to discredit the royal author. (See p. 47.) (Page 150.)

Mr Symmons Entred for his copie under the hands of Mr Savill & Mr Dawson *This is crossed* warden a book | called. ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. The pourtracture | of his *by my owne hand* Aug-6-1651 Sacred Ma:ty in his solitudes and sufferings.

*Mathew Symmons*  
At a Court held  
this day.

(MINUTE BOOK OF COURT.) 6th of August 1651.

Present : Mr Bourne Mr Legatt, Mr Robinson War: Mr Harrison, Mr Downes, Mr Meade, Mr Man, Mr Lakeam, Mr Flesher, Mr Seale, Mr Chappell, Mr Stephens, Mr Thrale, Mr Dainty:

*A second Letter from ye Lieut General this day, sent in the behalfe of Hills, the Generall is to be attended, and satisfaction to be given him in this buisnesse:/.*

*Mr Symmons his Copy crossed out of the Entrance Book* This day Mr Symmons came to the Court & desired that the entrance to him of the late Kings Booke might be crossed out & made voyd, which was granted, & hee did it with his owne hand and subscribed his name thereto.

(At page 152 of the REGISTER OF COPIES.) April 2nd 1649.

John Playford. Entred for his copy under the hand of Cranford (licensed by him the 23th of Febr Last) Four prayers used by his Late Ma:ty in the tyme of his sufferings, also a copie of a Letter of Prince Charles to his father.

(Page 156.) The 23rd May 1649.

Mr Roiston Entred for his copie under the hands of Mr Downham Mr Lee warden a book called *The Papers which passed at Newcastle betwixt his sacred Ma:ty and Mr Henderson, concerning the change of Church governm<sup>t</sup>.*

(Page 157.) 4 Jany 1649.

Wm Dugard Entred for his copie under the hands of Mr Downham & Mr —— warden a book called *Apothegmata aurea Regia Carolina*.

Wm Dugard Entred for his copy by order of the Councell of State two books *id est The advancement of merchandize, or certain propositions for the improvement of the trade of this comonwealth &c* by Tho. Nisbet of London : Goldsmith ; and *Iohannis Miltoni Angli &c populo . . . . .*

This points to DuGard as printing for Milton.

(Page 163.)

Wm Dugard Entred for his copie by vertue of a deed of Bargaine & sale under the hand & seal of Mr Iames Young & by consent of a full Court. *A briefe Concordance or table to the Bible of the last translation & in all volumes perused & enlarged by Mr John Downham.* Whereas the Book was heretofore entred to Mr Rob<sup>t</sup> Young & Mr Nicholas Bourne the Moyety of which sd book belonging to the sd Mr Young is by this Entrey to appertaine to Wm Dugard.

This and the next entry but one refer to the purchase by DuGard of Young's Press.

(MINUTE BOOK.) 10th February 1647.

Present : Mr Barker, Mr Latham, Mr Bellamy, Mr Harrison, Mr Lowndes, Mr Meade, Mr Man, Mr Dawson, Mr Flesher, Mr Legatt, Mr Seale, Mr Thrale, Mr Stephens, Mr Meredith, Mr Robinson, Mr Marriott, Mr Walbanke, Mr Coates.

*Mr Dugard  
made free by  
Redemption his  
fyne and fees  
remitte him.*

This day an order of the Court of Aldermen for making Mr William Dugard free of this company was read and upon debate hereof, it was thought fitt hee being a gentleman well deserving and may bee helpfull in the correction of the Companies Schoole Bookes to admit him into the freedome of this company. And whereas a fyne hath alwayes beene taken for admitting of a member in this nature, It was now ordered all fees to the house and offices shall bee freely remitted to him which said hee thankfully acknowledged and promised to doe his utmost in his way for correcting freely the companies school bookes, or any other service he may doe them, and hereupon the said Mr W<sup>m</sup> Dugard was sworne a member of this company.

*8<sup>o</sup> Junii 1648.*

Present: Mr Barker, Mr Latham, Mr Dawson, Mr Kingston, Mr Meade, Mr Bourne, Mr Man, Mr Flesher, Mr Legatt, Mr Seyle, Mr Lee, Mr Chappell, Mr Thrale, Mr Meredith, Mr Marriott, Mr Coates.

Mr Younges coppies. The Court hath appointed Mr Lowndes, Mr Flesher, Mr Stephens, and Mr Clarke to examine the coppies belonging to Mr Younge, before they bee entred to Mr Dugard, and upon their representacon to the Court thereof, the said coppies are to bee entred to the said Mr Dugard.

(MINUTE Book D.) *16 May 1660.*

A precept from the Lord Maior dated 17 May instant directed to the Master & wardens of this Company was this day read in Court purporting that if his Majestie shall be pleased upon his returne to his Kingdome to passe through this City, that tenn of the most grave tall & comely personages of this Company well horsed\* and in their best array or furniture of velvet plush or satin, and chains of gold be in readinesse to attend the Lord Maior Aldermen & other Citizens for the better reception of his Majestie. Whereupon the Table nominated 10 persons accordingly for that affaire, vizi Mr Lee, Mr Thrale, Mr Pulleyn, as Master & wardens Mr Seyle Mr Stephens Mr Robinson Mr Norton Mr Thomason Mr Triplett & Mr Crooke & they all (being present except Mr Thomason) accepted thereof & promised to be in readinesse on the day for that Solemnity.

It was ordered that the said ten persons choose each of them a ffootman to attend them. And the wardens are desired on that day to deliver them Coates Ribbons & truncheons for that affaire.

(MINUTES.) *27 June 1660.*

Samuel Browne. Mr Samuell Browne complained to the Table that during his residence at the Hague several copies belonging to him have been printed without his consent & prayed the direction of the table therein, but being unable (as he s<sup>th</sup>) to nominate the ps ons so printing the Table could not enter into any further consideracon thereof.

*27 July 1660.*

Mr Samuell Browne this day came to the Court and prayed their leave to bring over his printing materials from the Hague. The table on consideracon thereof find that they have not power to give any leave in the case & therewith acquainted Mr Browne.

The above-named printed several editions of the *Eikon*. (See p. 23.)

The next extracts, which prove that Charles the Second sent an autograph letter calling upon the Company to elect Royston a member of the Court, are very valuable:—

*6<sup>o</sup> Maij 1663.*

Present Miles Flesher Esqr<sup>e</sup> Master, Mr Pulleyn and Mr Packman, wardens, Mr Man, Mr Lee, Mr Stephens, Mr Robinson, Mr Thrale, Mr Thomason, Mr Leake, Mr Ffawn, Mr Harford.

His Majesties Letter to the Table for admitting Mr Richard Royston (an ancient member of this company, and his Majesties Bookseller, but not of the Livery) an Assistant, was read. The Table resolved to obey the same as far as they possible can, but adiourne the further consideracon thereof (because some-things materiall in the case were to be first considered and determined) untill monday next.

*Maij 11<sup>o</sup> 1663.*

This day his Majesties Letter for Mr Royston's being admitted an assistant was againe read (all the Court being uncovered), and after debated; and Mr Royston being called in promised to submitt to the ordinances in fining for the Renters Office (w<sup>ch</sup> office ought to be first borne or fined for) he was upon the question (*una voce*) chosen an Assistant, and being called in sate the lowest at the Table.

Richard Royston was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1673 and 1674. In the south aisle of Christ Church, Newgate-street, is an inscription:—"Richard Royston, bookseller to three kings, died 1686, in the 86th year of his age. Elizabeth, wife of Luke Meredith, grand-daughter of the above Richard, 1689. Mary Chiswel, late wife of Richard Chiswel, bookseller, another daughter of the above Richard Royston, 1698."

The following extracts are from the Collection of MSS. in the Record Office—another Government institution where the art of "how not to do it" has been shamefully neglected :—

#### DOMESTIC STATE PAPERS.

COUNCIL OF STATE. *Thursday, May 31, 1649.*

Instructions to Alderman Pennington and Alderman Atkins to send for the author of a book called *The Papers which passed at Newcastle betwixt his Sacred Majesty and Mr Alexander Henderson concerning the change of Government*.

## 1649. Nov. 29. COUNCIL OF STATE.

5. To write the Comm<sup>r</sup>s of Customs that a very strict search may be made of such ships as come from the Netherlands, for some scandalous books which are there printed against the Government, entitled *Defensio Regia*, which are designed to be sent hither, and to desire them to send up such as they may find, and not allow any to get dispersed.

6. Warrant to be sent to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company to a like effect.

7. To write to Thomas Bendish, customs' officer at Yarmouth, to take care of the searching for such books expected out of Holland.

## WARRANTS ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND ADMIRALTY COMMITTEE.

## 1649. Nov. 19. From COUNCIL OF STATE to EDW. DENDY.

To apprehend Peter Cole, Francis Tyton, and Jno. Playford, printers, for printing a book entitled *King Charles's Trial, &c.*, and also seize all the said books.

## 1650. Jan. 8.

II. Mr. Milton to prepare and bring to Council an answer to that book of *Salmasius*.

## Nov. 10, 1649. COUNCIL OF STATE.

II. Instructions for the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company, and for such of their assistants as shall be appointed by Council, for execution of the late Act against unlicensed and scandalous pamphlets, and for the better regulating of printing:

You are to make yourself acquainted with the provisions of the Act, and make frequent searches, weekly, or oftener, as occasion shall require.

You are to go on board any ship, lighter, or other vessel, and search for and seize all imported books, pamphlets, pictures, and papers, forfeited or inhibited to be imported by the said Act, and bring them to the Common Hall of the Stationers' Company, there to be disposed of as directed by the Act.

You are to keep an account of what you shall so seize. In case of any opposition, you shall break open any doors, locks, or chests, and certify the names of such as shall obstruct you; and send your information in writing to Council, that directions may be given for prosecution.

You shall observe such other instructions as shall be furnished, and on each Saturday fortnight give an account of your proceedings to Council. [L 63, pp. 241-5.]

## Dec. 25, 1649.

9. — Williams to be committed to the Gatehouse, for printing and publishing scandalous and seditious pamphlets. [I 63, pp. 426-7.]

This Williams was either printer or publisher, or both, of several editions of the King's Book.

*May 12, 1649. COUNCIL OF STATE.*

1. The Lord President to prepare and bring in an Act prohibiting the printing of invective and scandalous pamphlets against the commonwealth.

*Oct. 24, 1649. COUNCIL OF STATE.*

4. The Committee for suppressing scandalous pamphlets to examine Rich. Royston, stationer, and Jno. Grismond, printer, as to printing a virulent and scandalous pamphlet; likewise to inquire after the printers and publishers of a book entitled *Anarchia Anglicana*. [I 63, pp. 174-81.]

*Feb. 1, 1650. COUNCIL OF STATE.*

2. To write the Company of Merchant Tailors of London to elect a schoolmaster, Mr. Dugard having shown himself an enemy to the State by printing seditious and scandalous pamphlets, and therefore unfit to have charge of the education of youths.

3. John Armstrong, corrector to Mr. Dugard's printing press, to be apprehended and brought before Council. [See p. 34.]

12. The letter to the Merchant Tailors' Company approved. [I 63, pp. 578-83.]

*Oct. 24, 1649. COUNCIL OF STATE.*

To JOHN MILTON, Foreign Secretary, and Serjeant DENDY.

To view the books and papers of Clement Walker, seized at Kensington or at Westminster, and report thereon.

*Oct. 26. To EDW. DENDY.*

To apprehend George —— servant to Mr. Walker, and seize all his papers.

*1650. Feb 1. COUNCIL OF STATE.*

To JOSEPH HUNSCOTT, officer of the Stationers' Company.

To seize the printing presses and stock of William Dugard, schoolmaster of Merchant Taylors' school, for publishing certain scandalous and seditious books.

*Feb. 2. To KEEPER OF NEWGATE.*

To receive William Dugard into his custody, for printing several scandalous books against the commonwealth.

**NEWSPAPER COLLECTION. (Vol. 52 A, p. 600.)**

On September 20, 1647, the Commons passed an ordinance against the printing and publishing of unlicensed books, pamphlets, ballads, and other papers, the offenders to be apprehended by mayors and other local officials with an act of indemnity, and the offenders to be fined—the writer 40s., the printer 20s., and his press and letter broken; the bookseller 10s., and the mercuries and hawkers to have their books taken from them, and be whipt as common rogues, if they carry such unlicensed books. And for treason, sedition, and blasphemy, the fines not to save them harmless. This ordinance to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

COUNCIL OF STATE. Day's Proceedings. *26 September, 1659.*

Mr. Dugard to be hereafter employed to print anything ordered by Council.

WHITEHALL. *September 29th, 1666.*

£300 ordered by the King to be paid to Richard Royston to reimburse him for losses by the Fire.

*April 23, 1662.*

Warrant to Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, to receive James Harrington into close custody for endeavouring in several meetings to promote a change in the government of these kingdoms.

COUNCIL OF STATE. *October 7, 1653.*

Mr. Moyer or Mr. Courtney to be a Committee to examine Mr. Dod, Royston, and Tomlyns about printing and publishing of certain scandalous papers, and to report.

*October 10.*

Richard Royston, Richard Thomlyns, and Edward Dod, printers, apprehended on suspicion of having printed scandalous papers, to be set at liberty, on good bail to appear on summons.

*September 30, 1653.*

Warrant of the Council of State to the Sergeant-at-Arms "To apprehend Royston and Dod of Ivy Lane, and Thomlyns of Pye Corner, and bring them before Council to answer objections."

COUNCIL OF STATE. *July 2, 1653.*

The Bill of William DuGard for books printed for the use of the State to be paid out of Council's contingencies, Mr. Scobell first examining it and certifying his allowance thereof.

STATE PAPERS. DOMESTIC. *1660.*

Petition of Samuel Browne, Bookseller. For the office of Yeoman of the Woodyard, or Groom of the Standing Wardrobe, or some compensation for his loss of goods value £2,000, sold by the Commissioners of Sequestration, and for his banishment, because he refused compliance with the usurped powers. [See also p. 20 preceding.]

Roger Norton, printer. To be admitted to his moiety of the office of King's printer, granted by King James to Robert Barker and his son, who sold it to Bonham Norton and the late John Bill; the former of whom, being the petitioner's father, settled his moiety upon him on his marriage.

Petition of Sir William Courtenay, of Bogatt, co. Hants, to the King, for a Tellership in the Exchequer, the Treasurership of the Navy, or the disposal of the places of Clerks of the Cheque. Raised a regiment at his own charge in the late war, was sequestered, denied the benefit of the articles concluded on surrender of the garrison which he maintained, long imprisoned, etc.

I have two early *Eikons* which belonged to this family—Earls of Devon and Lords of Powderham Castle for almost countless years.

Petition of Marmaduke Cooke. For a grant of the Prebend of Riccall, diocese of York. [Admitted March 2, 1661.]

I find that Marmaduke Cooke (see *Eikon* No. 43) was also Vicar of Leeds.

*February, 1661.*

Grant in reversion to Nicholas Oudart of the office of Clerk of the Signet.

#### CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.—DOMESTIC.—CHARLES I.

*1648. July 2. 152. Vol. DXVI.*

Proceedings at the Committee of both Houses at Derby House. Present: Earls of Pembroke and Mulgrave, Lord Howard, Maj.-Genl. Skippon, and Messrs. Crewe, Wallop, Browne, Knightley, and Swynfen. *Ordered,*

8. Warrant to the Keeper of Bridewell Prison to receive into his custody Richd. Royston, alias Allen, and John Browne, committed for raising arms against the Parliament.

This possibly may not have been "our" Richard Royston.

*1648. July 7. 173. Vol. DXVI.*

62. Bond of Richard Royston, alias Allen, of St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Speaker Lenthal in 100*£*, for his appearance before the Committee at Derby House. [Seal, with arms and crest, Latin and English. 1 p.]

*1648. Nov. 24. 331. Vol. DXVI.*

Proceedings at the Committee of both Houses at Derby House. Present: Earls of Manchester and Salisbury, Lord Cranborne, Sir G. Gerard, Sir R. Onslow, Col. Rosseter, and Messrs. Fiennes and Swynfen. *Ordered,*

6. That the two women now prisoners in Peterhouse for selling scandalous books be released, having made discovery of the men of whom they had them.

#### HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS. REPORT IV.

MARQUIS OF BATH'S. *Page 231, col. 1.*

Petition to the King by George Evans, gentleman, one of your Majesty's servants of your removing Wardrobe, and of Mr. Cotton, gentleman harbinger to your Majesty—

That the *Eikon Basilike* may be reprinted, and a copy in Latin and English placed in every parish church, and in English, Greek, and Latin in every Cathedral and Collegiate Church, as were the books of Bishop Jewel, *Book of Martyrs*, and others, and that they may have a patent under the Great Seal to print the same for their lives and of their respective sons, W. Evans . . . Cotton.

EARL OF DENBIGH'S. *Page 274.*

A paper containing the name of such persons "who are appointed to attend his Majestie to Holdenby, and the names of such who may go along in your Majesties Court

att large not haveing anie place of service." Mr. Patrick Maule and Mr. James Maxwell are "to serve in the Bedchamber;" Mr. Thomas Herbert, Mr. James Harington, Sir Fulke Greville (gentleman usher of the Privy Chamber), Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Middleton, Sir John Thoroughgood, Mr. Ansty, and Mr. Babington (groom of the Privy Chamber), are "to serve as gentlemen in the Privy Chamber."

The printer is constantly reminding me that this book will be too "fat" to look comely; but I think it would be incomplete without still further reference to the difficulties under which authors, printers, and publishers used to labour.\* It will be noticed that the Act of September, 1649, contains various new provisions, some of which would seem to make it almost impossible to issue a book obnoxious to the ruling powers. This is of interest, because it will be noticed that no *Eikon* is known to have been printed in Britain between 1649 and the Restoration. The most material clauses of the Act are as follows:—

That the Laws made formerly, and now in Force, for Punishment of Devisers and Spreaders of false and seditious News, Lyes, and Rumours, by writing, printing, speaking, or otherwise, shall be put in due and diligent Execution.

That no Person whatsoever shall presume to make, write, print, publish, sell, or utter, or cause so to be done, any scandalous or libellous Books, Pamphlets, Papers, or Pictures whatsoever, on the Penalties following, *viz.* the Author of such Books, &c. to forfeit 10*l.* or be imprisoned in the common Goal of the County or Liberty where the Offence is committed, or the Offender shall be found, untill he pay the same, so that the Imprisonment exceed not 40 Days; the Printer to forfeit 5*l.* and suffer the like Imprisonment untill he pay the same, not exceeding 20 Days; and likewise have his Press and Implements of printing seized and broken in Pieces: The Bookseller to forfeit 40*s.* or be imprison'd in like Manner untill he pay the same, not exceeding 10 Days.

That if any Person happen to buy any such seditious Books, &c. and do not within 24 Hours after Knowledge thereof, bring them to the Lord Mayor of *London*, (if the Buyer's Residence be there) or to some other Justice of the Peace within the County, City, or Liberty where such Buyer shall then happen to be, to be disposed of as by this Act is afterwards mentioned; and give Notice likewise of the Party of whom he had or bought the same, he shall forfeit for every such Omission the Sum of 20*s.* for every such conceal'd Book, &c. to be disposed of as after-mentioned.

That no Person shall compose, write, print, publish, sell, or utter, or cause so to be done, any Book or Pamphlet, Treatise or Sheet of News whatsoever, unless licensed, as

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\* For some information bearing on this subject, see Mr. Henry R. Tedder's Paper, which was printed in Part 3, Vol. I., of *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*.

hereafter mentioned, upon the like Penalty as upon the Maker, Writer, Printer, and Bookseller respectively, of scandalous Books and Pamphlets, both for Fine and Imprisonment, as herein before appointed.

That all former Licenses, granted by Authority of both or either House of Parliament, to any Person for printing any Diurnal, News, or Occurrences, shall be from henceforth void; and no Book, &c. shall henceforth be printed, or put to Sale by any Person whatsoever, unless first licensed under the Hand of the Clerk of the Parliament, or of such Person as shall be authorised by the Council of State for the Time being; or for so much as may concern the Affairs of the Army, under the Hand of their Secretary for the Time being; the same to be entered in their several Registers, to be kept for that Purpose; and also in the Register of the Company of Stationers; and the Printer thereof to put his Hand thereto.

Provided that the Penalties herein express'd shall not extend to quit any Person that shall make, write, &c. or cause so to be done, any Book, &c. that shall contain any seditious, treasonable, or blasphemous Matter; but the Offenders in such Kind shall be liable to such further Penalties, as by the Laws of the Land are provided, or by Authority of Parliament shall be judged, according to the Quality of such Offences.

That the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, *London*, assisted with such Persons as the Council of State shall for that Purpose nominate or approve, shall make diligent Search in all Places where they shall think meet, for all unallowed Printing-Presses, and all Presses employed in printing of any such unlicensed Books, &c. as aforesaid; and the same seize and carry away to the Common-Hall of the said Company, there to be defaced and made unserviceable; and likewise make diligent Search in all suspected Printing-Offices, Warehouses, Shops, &c. for such unlicensed and scandalous Books, &c. and the same to seize; and likewise to apprehend all Authors, Printers, &c. of such Books, &c. and to bring the Offenders, and what they shall have so seized, before such Officers as are appointed for the Execution of this Act, to be by them disposed of according to the Direction of the same.

That no Person whatever shall presume to send by the Post, Carriers, or otherwise, or endeavour to disperse, any such unlicensed Books, &c. on Forfeiture of 40s. for every such Book, &c. or Imprisonment of the Offender, the same not to exceed 40 Days; the Penalty to be inflicted, the Money to be disposed of, and such Inquiry, Searches, and Seizures touching the same to be made, as in the Case of selling unlicensed Books, &c.

No Printer, nor any other Person whatsoever, shall from henceforth print, or employ any Printing-Press, Rolling-Press, or any other Instruments for Printing, in any Place of this Commonwealth, save only in the City of *London*, and Liberties thereof, the City of *York*, and the two Universities, (excepting such as shall be particularly licensed by special Order of the Council of State) on Forfeiture of 20l. and having all their Printing-Presses, Letters, and Materials defaced; and shall also be for ever disabled to be a Master-Printer, or Owner of a Printing-Press.

Every Printer, or other Person, in *London*, being the Owner of Printing-Presses, Rolling-Presses, or other Instruments for Printing, shall, before the first Day of *October*, 1649, enter into Bond, with two Sureties, of 300*l.* Penalty, to the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, not to print, or cause or suffer to be printed, any seditious, scandalous, or treasonable Book, &c. dishonourable to, or against, the State and Government; nor any Book of News, &c. not enter'd and licensed as aforesaid; and shall also, to every Book, &c. they shall imprint, prefix the Author's Name, with his Quality and Place of Residence, or at least the Licenser's Name, where Licenses are required, and his own Name and Place of Residence at Length, in the Title-Page, on Pain of forfeiting 10*l.* for every wilful Failing, and to have all their Printing Materials defaced; and, for the second Offence, to be disabled from exercising his Trade of Printing.

That no Person shall hereafter set up a Printing-Press, Rolling-Press, or other Instrument for Printing, nor cast any Printing-Letters, before they enter into a Bond as aforesaid; nor shall any Person let any House, Vault, Cellar, or other Room, for a Place to print in, unless he first give Notice thereof to the Master or Wardens of the Stationers' Company, on Forfeiture of 5*l.* for every Offence; of which Intimation they are enjoin'd to make an Entry in their Register, on Pain of like Forfeiture for every Omission.

That no joiner, or other person, shall make any printing-press or rolling-press, nor any smith shall forge any iron-work for a printing-press, nor any founder cast any printing-letters for any person whatsoever; neither shall any person import, or cause so to be done, any printing-presses or letters; nor shall any person buy such presses or letters, unless he first acquaint the said Master and Wardens for whom the said press, &c. are to be made or imported on forfeiture of 5*l.* for every Offence; of which intimation they are to make entry as above.

That no Person whatsoever shall import any scandalous or seditious Books, &c. on Forfeiture of 5*l.* for every such Book, &c. nor shall any Person land any imported Books at any Place but the Port of *London*; and that no Packs or Chests of Books be permitted by any Officers of the Customs or Excise to be opened or conveyed away, before the same be viewed by the said Master and Wardens, or such as they shall appoint, on Forfeiture of 5*l.* for every Offence; so as they make the said View within 48 Hours after Notice; which they are required to make upon like Forfeiture for every Omission.

And for better Discovery of malignant Booksellers, who make a Trade of vending and dispersing to their Customers in the Country, in Packets, by the Post, Carriers, &c. unlicensed, scandalous, and seditious Books, &c. to the great Abuse of the Parliament and Prejudice of the People, any two Magistrates intrusted with the Execution of this Act, shall have Power, upon any just Occasion of Suspicion, to grant Warrants for searching of Packs and Packets, and seizing the same, to the end the Penalties may be levied thereupon: And that all unlicensed Books, &c. to be seized by Virtue of this Act, shall, after Condemnation of the Offender with whom they are taken, or to whom they belong, be brought to the Secretary to the Council of State, to be disposed of to the Fire or otherwise, as that Council shall direct.

That no Hawkers shall be any more permitted, and that they and all Ballad-singers, wheresoever apprehended, shall forfeit all Books, &c. by them exposed to Sale; and shall be conveyed to the House of Correction, there to be whipt as common Rogues, and then dismissed; and where no such House of Correction is, they shall be delivered over to the Constable of the Liberty where they are apprehended, to be whipt as common Rogues; on Forfeiture of 40s. for the Neglect of his Duty herein.

That whatsoever Penalties in Money shall be levied by the Company of Stationers, one neat Moiety thereof shall be reserved for the Use of their Poor, and the other for the Use of the Commonwealth.

All Officers, Civil and Military, Soldiers, and other well-affected People, are enjoin'd to be assisting in the Execution of this Act; and the Council of State shall have Power to enquire into all wilful Defaults, and Contempts of Officers or others; and to reward Prosecutors or Discoverers of Offenders.

Prosecutions to be commenced within six Months; and the Act to continue in Force till the 29th of September, 1651.—(From *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, Vol. XIX, pp. 170-6; published 1757.)

No great result has arisen from comparing the spelling of different texts. Mr. Edward J. L. Scott tells me that Gauden was almost the only man of that time who made any difference between "than" and "then." Gauden spelt "than," where others wrote "then." The only manuscript texts known to exist are copies from the printed book. The King's own MS. was no doubt transcribed by Nicholas Oudart,\* and perhaps by others, before being sent to press. Some of the work was not improbably only dictated, not written, by the King. I think it, too, very likely that compositors spelt much according to their own taste and convenience. One little point may be noticed. In comparing some early editions in twelves and twenty-fours with the very earliest in eights, for nearly the first two pages the spelling agrees; then slight variations begin,

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\* From a note at p. 73, Vol. II, of *The Nicholas Papers*, edited by Mr. George F. Warner, for the Camden Society (New Series, Vol. 50):—"Nicholas Oudart, a native of Mechlin, came to England with Sir H. Wotton, and took the degree of M.A., at Oxford, 13 Aug., 1626. After being Secretary to Sir W. Boswell, Resident at the Hague, he returned to Oxford, and was made M.B., 30 Jan., 1642. He then became Secretary to Nicholas, and remained with him until the surrender of Oxford, when Nicholas gave him a flattering testimonial, 20 June, 1646. (B.M. Add. M. 4892.) In 1647 he was acting as Secretary to Charles, and he attended him in 1648 in the Isle of Wight, where he was employed to write the King's confidential letters to his son (*Warwick Memoirs*, 1703, p. 325). His diary of the Newport Conferences in Oct. to Nov., 1648, is printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, II, p. 387. Subsequently he was Secretary to Mary, Princess of Orange (who made him one of her executors), Latin Secretary to William, Prince of Orange, and Charles II, and Clerk of the Signet. He was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, 21 Dec., 1681."

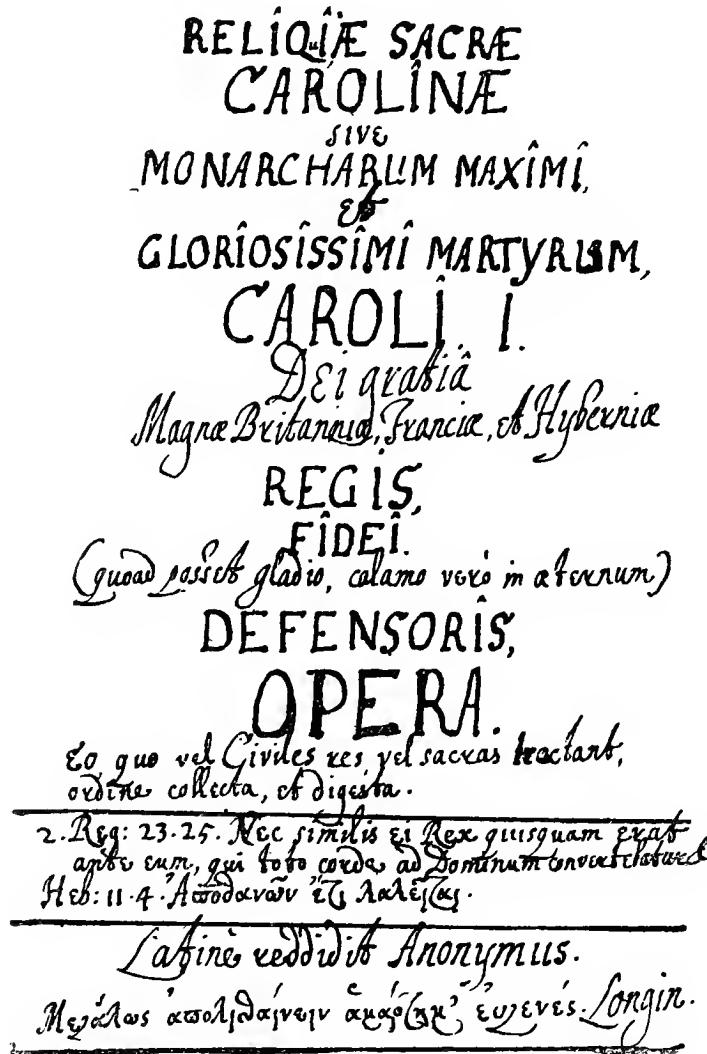
and a little further on the compositor seems to have broken from a trot into a gallop, and forgotten all about orthography and the use or abuse of capitals. Let someone unearth a manuscript *Eikon* in the hand-writing of Nicholas Oudart, Sir Edward Nicholas, or in some other hand, but touched up for the Press by the Rev. Edward Symmons, William DuGard, Richard Royston, or Sir John Brattle, and then it may be of more value to closely compare texts. One cannot help hoping that some such precious document may yet turn up. There are to this day, in public as well as private hands, piles of seventeenth century manuscripts, of which their very owners know, as nearly as possible, nothing. It will be very gratifying should this bibliography lead to further discoveries. It will at least help to clear the road, and correct many mis-statements which it would be invidious to recall.

On next page I give a fac-simile Title page of a contemporary manuscript translation of the *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinae* into Latin. The translator has reached the end of the King's Declarations, and has written the Title to the Letters. There are sufficient blank leaves to have contained all the usual contents of the *Reliquiae*. The book is in perfect condition, in old mottled calf, with two leather and metal clasps, and gilt edges. I have, in exactly similar binding, but without clasps, a volume comprising Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* (1654) and *Holy Dying* (1652), both printed for Richard Royston, who was the author's publisher.

It does not at all follow that Royston would have endeavoured to preserve the manuscript from which he had printed the book, and it must be especially remembered that no one suggested that anyone but the King had written the *Eikon* until it had been published twelve years. But, stop! Milton vaguely attempted such a suggestion, and in the same volume abundantly refuted his own insinuations.

A remarkable point is, that one or two of the very earliest editions were not so badly printed as many that followed immediately afterwards. This confirms, in an interesting manner, the testimonies to the royal authorship, which have specially recorded that the Rev. Edward Symmons, rector of Rayne, in Essex, was entrusted by the King to visit Royston in October, and that on December 23rd he brought the manuscript from

the King to Royston. Further, that the King ordered Royston not to issue the work before the King's death. This injunction illustrates, in a manner inexpressibly pathetic, the noble dignity of the King—he would



FAC-SIMILE TITLE PAGE OF MANUSCRIPT "RELIQIÆ."

tell his story, but would not stoop to save his life by so doing. Then the evidence goes on to describe that the printer's house was attacked by the Parliament men, the work stopped, and the stock destroyed.

Now, between the printing of Nos. 2 and 3 the whole type was set up afresh, pointing to such an interruption as we are told took place.

A copy exhibited in a glass case in the King's Library at the British Museum has long been considered to be absolutely the first edition. It bears, close to the date 1648 the following note, in Thomason's\* hand:—“The first impression, Feb. 9th.”† (See also “Eliza Cope,” *Addenda*.)

In April, 1892, I bought from Deighton, Bell & Co., of Cambridge, an *Eikon* which I discovered to be earlier, in that sheet G is wrongly paged. Since then I have seen at Messrs. Sotheran's a copy of the same edition (ordinary paper), and this was sold at once for ten guineas. My Cambridge copy is on thick paper, with gilt edges, and bound in fine old contemporary black morocco. It has belonged to Sir Philip Warwick—excelled by none in chivalrous loyalty and personal devotion to Charles the First. After fighting for his royal master on Marston Moor, and many another noble field, he became the King's private secretary, and enjoyed his personal confidence and intimacy. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth has repeatedly alluded to Sir Philip Warwick and to his testimony that he had often heard the King speak what was written in the *Eikon*. One account stated that he had transcribed the work from the King's original. Sir Philip Warwick has written in this copy “For my Lady Boteler.” The latter became his second wife, and he her second husband. Sir William Boteler, her first husband, when the Civil War broke out, raised and armed at his own expense a regiment for the King, and was killed in making a most determined stand at Cropredy Bridge, while the King himself was present. His widow was fined and turned out of house and home by the magnanimous Roundheads. The book has, also, the signatures of “Oliver Boteler 1650,” the second baronet, and “Sarah Shaw,” a member of a

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\* George Thomason, a bookseller of St. Paul's Churchyard, had been engaged ever since 1641 in diligently collecting Civil War Tracts, amounting at last to the number of about 30,000 pamphlets, bound up in chronological order, in 2,220 volumes. Thomason died in 1666, and his collection, for which he had refused £4,000, was sold in 1762 to George the Third for £300. This collection, which is one of the special glories of the British Museum, was long known there only as “The King's Pamphlets,” but to the credit of the present generation be it mentioned that the laborious collector is at last remembered, and the collection specially spoken of as “The Thomason.”

† Learned writers have lately taken to recording Thomason's date on a Title as a sure indication of the day of publication, whereas it can only be concluded that, as he bought the book then, it had been issued as early as that date.

neighbouring family in the loyal county of Kent. John Shaw, of London, and of Shaw's Court in Surrey, aided Charles the Second with money during his exile.

I have another copy in exactly similar binding. It has the old ownership signatures "Jane Elmes" | "Jane Burton," two kinswomen. The latter was daughter of Sir Thomas Burton, of whom and of Sir William Halford (first husband of Jane Burton's mother) and nine others, Lloyd, in his *Memoires of the Lives . . . that suffered . . . for . . . Allegiance to their Soveraigne, . . . with the Life and Martyrdom of Charles I.* . . . 1668, writes (p. 649):—

. . . . . need no other history than the first commission of array, in their own county, Leicestershire, wherein they were inserted; the Catalogue of Compounders, wherein they are punished between them £20,000; the paper of Loan, wherein they contributed towards his Majesties service £25,642; the several Imprisonments they suffered and sequestration they endured.

I have yet a third similar and interesting copy, on thick paper, and one like that sold by Sotheran, on ordinary paper, and in ordinary binding. Perhaps the very fastidious connoisseurs will call thick and thin, two editions.

Another copy of No. 1 agrees in binding and other respects with Sir Philip Warwick's. This copy is slightly taller than others, has all the original end leaves, and is in perfect order. It has the Beaufort book-plate, and came from that Library, where it no doubt had remained from the time of its first owner, the Earl of Glamorgan, son of the aged Marquis of Worcester, who was the first man to raise and equip a regiment for Charles the First. Lodge—as quoted by Eliot Warburton—says that the princely old marquis and his sons contributed nearly a million pounds to the royal cause. The historian of Prince Rupert adds:—

Last of all the royal strongholds in England fell Raglan Castle, transmitting to this day in its time-honored, war-worn battlements, visible testimony of its brave defence. Lord Saye and Sele and Cromwell helped themselves to a considerable portion of the Somerset estates, and to this day that noble House feels the consequences of its devoted loyalty.

These earliest editions in eights were evidently printed by William DuGard for Richard Royston. The latter was a bookseller, and what we now call publisher, but not a printer. A striking illustration of the loose way of using such terms is given in Levett's words, quoted on p. 91—he did not mean not to be *printed*, but not to be *published*. After breaking up the

type of Nos. 1 and 2 the book was again printed by the same printer, and, in the same style, Nos. 3, 4, 5,\* and 6 were then produced in order with slight variations. In No. 5 the work was extended from 269 to 270 pages by the introduction of the oval vignette head of Charles II. as Prince of Wales. Mr. Falconer Madan's copy of No. 6 has evidence of having been bought on the 23rd of February for half-a-crown. This would indicate that in a matter of three weeks five editions of this size, besides many others, had been issued. Mr. Madan's copy has a fresh list of errata, and a note alluding to the Prayers in *Eikon* No. 6 and those of other editions.

THIS TABLE RELATES TO THE LIST OF ERRATA THAT ACCOMPANIED THE  
EARLIEST EDITIONS IN EIGHTS.

(“*is*” means “Corrected”; “*not*” means “Not corrected.”)

<i>Signa-</i> <i>tures.</i>	No. 1.—“BOTELER.” ,, 1.—“ELMES.” ,, 1.—“ABDY.” ,, 2.—“ORLEANS.” ,, 2.—“E. 1096” (British Museum).	No. 3.—“THOMAS.” ,, 4.—“DUNCAN.” ,, 4.—“GILL.”	No. 5. “EDWARD SALLY.”
B . . . .	Page 12 No. 1 “O make me” . . . . . ,, 12 „ “of joy” . . . . . ,, 14 „ “attended me” . . . . .	<i>is</i> <i>is</i> <i>not</i>	<i>is</i> <i>is</i> <i>not</i>
C . . . .	„ 21 „ “in any man” . . . . . „ 28 „ “Honour” . . . . .	<i>not</i> <i>is</i>	<i>is</i> <i>is</i>
D . . . .	„ 33 „ “for my sins” . . . . . „ 34 „ “to Sea by a storme” . . . . . „ 37 „ “obtrusions” . . . . .	<i>not</i> <i>not</i> <i>is</i>	<i>is</i> <i>is</i> <i>is</i>
E . . . .	„ 51 „ “perpetrations” . . . . . „ 52 „ “for as his death” . . . . . „ 58 „ “was the bill” . . . . . „ 61 „ “knew” . . . . .	<i>not</i> <i>wrongly</i> <i>is</i> <i>is</i>	<i>is</i> <i>is</i> <i>is</i> <i>is</i>
F . . . .	„ 68 „ “power, so” . . . . .	<i>not</i>	<i>is</i>
G . . . .	„ 87 „ “for thy z. the” . . . . .	<i>is</i>	<i>is</i>
H . . . .	„ 112 „ “populacy” . . . . .	<i>is</i>	<i>is</i>
I . . . .	„ 114 „ “crofse not their” . . . . .	“crofse not the”	<i>is</i>
K . . . .	„ 131 „ “no men” . . . . . „ 142 „ “be expected” . . . . .	<i>is</i> <i>is</i>	<i>is</i> <i>is</i>
N . . . .	„ 186 „ “ever will” . . . . .	<i>is</i>	<i>is</i>
O . . . .	„ 205 „ “Saviours” . . . . .	<i>is</i>	<i>is</i>
Q . . . .	„ 233 „ “le Bon” . . . . .	<i>is</i>	<i>is</i>

\* Lord Aldenham has a copy of No. 5, bound in contemporary dark brown morocco, gilt, with “C. R.” surmounted by three crowns on each cover. It contains the armorial book-plate of “H.R.H. the Duke of Albany, K.G.,” and at the other end the fine book-plate of its present owner.

I have secured, at the last moment, a copy which is no doubt unique. Every word used in describing No. 1 applies to it, and it has the following words printed above the date line on the Title page:—"LONDON. | Printed for R. Royston in Ivie-lane." This probably was a proof of the intended Title page, these imprint words being, from fear of the enemy, taken out at the last minute. At top of Title page, written in pencil, in a hand perhaps fifty years later than the *Eikon*, is the name of "Guil. Armstrong," doubtless a descendant of John Armstrong. (See p. 22.)

THIS TABLE SHOWS ERRORS IN PAGINATION OF EARLIEST EDITIONS IN EIGHTS.

No. 1.—"BOTELER." ,, 1.—"ELMES." ,, 1.—"ABDY."	No. 2. "E. 1096."	No. 4.—"DUNCAN." ,, 4.—"GILL."	No. 5. "EDWARD SALLY."	No. 6. "2s. 6d."
91 for 81	—	12 for 22	{ 64 for { 62 165 " 63	—
94 " 84	—	00 " 100	15 " 135	—
95 " 85	—	{ 148 " { 164 147 " 165	163 " 153	—
98 " 88	—	{ 152 " { 168 153 " 169	{ 148 " { 164 149 " 165	—
99 " 89	—	156 " 172	{ 152 " { 168 153 " 169	—
102 " 92	—	17 " 174	156 " 172	—
103 " 93	—	172 " 176	17 " 174	—
109 " 96	—	—	172 " 176	—
801 " 108	801 for 108	801 for 108	861 " 198	801 for 108
444 " 244	—	—	—	444 " 244

The price charged for copies was sometimes 2s. 6d., sometimes 2s. 8d. This would represent a present value of half-a-guinea.

The very earliest editions in eights seem to have been printed at the same Press as Milton's "*Pro Populo*, etc., Londini, Typis Du Gardianis. Anno Domini 1651." "*The Papers which passed at Newcastle*, etc., etc., London, printed for R. Royston at the Angel in Ivie Lane 1649," is in the same type as the earliest octavo *Eikons*. In all probability No. 1 in my descriptions was the very first edition of the *Eikon*, but this is not likely to be ever conclusively proved. In Wagstaffe's list, the 187 pages edition with Contents at the end (No. 7), is put as the first edition. Copies of it are at all events very rare, and the British Museum has none.

THIS TABLE GIVES THE RESULTS OF AN EXAMINATION OF THE "MIXED" EARLY EDITIONS  
IN TWELVES TO ASCERTAIN THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF ANY OF THE SAME  
ERRATA, AS PER LIST, IN EARLIEST EIGHTS.

Signa- tures:	ERRATA.	No. 10. "WALTERS."	No. 12. "BRADFORD."	No. 13. "2."	No. 13. "O."	No. 14. "SIMMONS."
B .	p, 12 l. 11 "O make me" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
	" 12 " 11 "of joy" . . .	is J	is J	is J	is J	is J
	" 14 " 9 "attended me" . . .	is M	is M	is M	is M	is M
	" 21 " 16 "in any man" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
C .	" 28 " 10 "Honour" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
	" 33 " 13 "for my sins" . . .	not	not	is	is	is
	" 34 " 4 "to Sea by a storme" .	not	not	is	is	is
	" 37 " 20 "obtrusions" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
D .	" 51 " 21 "perpetrations" . . .	is	is	not	not	not
	" 52 " 1 "for as his death" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
	" 58 " 27 "was the Bill" . . .	is	is	is	is	not
	" 61 " 24 "knew" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
	" 68 " 17 "power, so" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
E .	" 87 " 19 "for thy 2. the" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
F .	" 112 " 5 "populacy" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
	" 114 " 24 "crosse not their" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
G .	" 131 " 18 "no men" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
	" 142 " 18 "be expected" . . .	is	is	is	is	is
I .	" 186 " 19 "ever will" . . .	is	is	is	is	{ is, but "will ever."
K .	" 205 " 27 "Saviours" . . .	is	is	is	not	
L .	" 233 " 27 "le Bon" . . .	is	is	is	is	is

The next set of editions to be noticed consists apparently of three in twelves—one "Printed Anno Domini 1648," the next two "Reprinted in R. M. Anno Domini 1648." In the first the "Contents" are at the end, and in the others at the beginning (Nos. 7, 8, and 9). I have placed them before others that follow, because Wagstaffe, in the list of editions which he appended to his *Vindication*, placed the first of these as absolutely the first edition of the *Eikon* (*see ante*). Wagstaffe alludes to his list thus:—

I have here subjoined a Catalogue of the several editions of it both without and with the Prayers, collected with great care and Industry, by Mr. Keble at the Turk's Head in Fleet Street and printed on a sheet of large paper, to bind with the King's Works, and preventing any mistake, he hath with great exactness given the size of each volume, the time of printing, the number of Pages that the contents consist of, and the number of the pages of the Book itself, when there were any such: And in which it is observable, that there are no less than 29 editions without the Prayers, and 17 of them printed 1648. [For this list, *see pp. 117-8.*]

The next set of editions that I propose to mention (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14) offers food for thought. They are all in twelves, paged 1-269 (the same number of pages as the editions in eights, already mentioned), and have evidently been set up from one of the very earliest in eights. The "faults" in this set of editions, more especially in pagination, beggar description. Bearing in mind the great demand at that time for copies of the King's Book, it is not improbable that the printing of these editions was being done by several printers at one time, and with great secrecy. These different printings being sent to the same binder's, probably became mixed in the process of collation, with the inevitable result that sheets of one edition got stitched to those of another. I have closely examined and compared each sheet of these various editions, and the similarities and differences are recorded in the following table.

THIS TABLE REFERS TO THE EDITIONS SPOKEN OF AS "MIXED."

("d" indicates a "Difference"; "s" indicates "Same.")

No. 10. "WALTERS."				No. 12. "BRADFORD."				No. 13. "2."				No. 13. "O."				No. 14. "REED."			
Signatures.				Signatures.				Signatures.				Signatures.				Signatures.			
A ..	d	d	d	d	A ..	d	d	d	s	d	s	A ..	d	s	d	A ..	d	s	s
B ..	s	s	d	s	B ..	s	d	s	s	d	s	B ..	d	d	d	B ..	s	s	d
C ..	s	d	d	d	C ..	d	d	s	d	d	s	C ..	d	d	d	C ..	d	s	d
D ..	s	d	d	d	D ..	d	d	s	d	d	d	D ..	d	s	d	D ..	d	d	d
E ..	s	d	d	s	E ..	d	d	s	d	d	d	E ..	d	s	d	E ..	d	d	s
F ..	d	s	d	s	F ..	s	d	d	s	d	s	F ..	d	d	d	F ..	s	s	d
G ..	s	d	d	d	G ..	d	d	s	d	d	s	G ..	d	s	d	G ..	d	s	d
H ..	s	s	s	s	H ..	d	d	s	s	d	s	H ..	d	s	s	H ..	s	d	s
I ..	s	d	s	d	I ..	d	d	s	d	d	d	I ..	d	s	s	I ..	d	d	d
K ..	s	d	d	d	K ..	d	d	s	d	d	d	K ..	d	d	d	K ..	d	d	d
L ..	d	d	d	d	L ..	d	d	d	d	d	s	L ..	d	d	d	L ..	d	s	d
M ..	d	s	s	d	M ..	s	d	d	s	s	s	M ..	d	s	s	M ..	s	s	d
N ..	d	d	d	d	N ..	d	d	d	d	d	s	N ..	d	s	d	N ..	d	s	d

(In addition to the above, there are two other variations of this series—one, "JUXON," in which the first folding (Signature A) differs from all; another, "MALACHI," differs from all the others in the four last sheets, viz.: K, L, M, and N.)

A distinguished second-hand bookseller has offered me from the country, through a London firm, a "1603" edition, and neither seller nor agent see anything to laugh at in the matter. If the seller has, without knowing it, an early edition of *Basilicon Doron*, he owns a work as valuable as a good *Eikon*.

A careful and experienced dealer in seventeenth century literature said to me: "I have an *Eikon*, and it is the first edition, though I cannot exactly explain why I am certain of it." Neither could I, because I had bought at second-hand from him a different edition, which he had just as positively described as a first edition.

We must remember that not only was all London in turmoil through the loving eagerness of loyal hearts to possess and treasure copies of the King's Book—and the rage of the Commonwealth men at this spontaneous outburst of feeling—but Royston, DuGard, and Juxon were actually imprisoned, and thus withdrawn at a critical time from all supervision of the work. The almost superhuman pluck and indomitable perseverance which Royston and his printers showed throughout, and the pride which Royston took in having his royal master's legacy to his people printed to the best advantage, is very noticeable.

This extract from Vol. VI. of the *Historical MSS. Reports* will show how little the Commons could hope from imprisoning Richard Royston again for a short period:—

1645. August 15. Petition of Richard Royston, now a prisoner in the Fleet. Acknowledges the justice of his sentence, and will be very careful not to offend in like kind again. Has no one to follow his trade and support his children but himself, and praise their Lordships in their clemency to discharge him of his imprisonment, etc., etc.

He was careful afterwards, but only of his royal master's honour!

It will help our prosaic selves to-day to bring to mind the time just after the King's death, if we think of that pure knight of chivalry, the Lord Capel. When on the scaffold, awaiting the axe's fall, which was to cast him into eternity, of what did he speak? About himself, of course? No. Scarce a word! His chief discourse was a manly call to his hearers to stand loyally by their King. With the same lofty spirit

fell Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle (Eliot Warburton's *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, Vol. III., pp. 405-6) :—

At seven o'clock they were hurried out to a green spot beneath the castle walls ; three files of musketeers, with Ireton, Rainsborough, and Whalley, received them there. Sir George Lisle was removed out of sight of his comrade's execution, but the volley that announced his death rang upon his ear. The gallant Lucas had died as he had lived, with the unostentatious courage of a gentleman. He knelt down upon the greensward, and prayed fervently for a little while ; then rising, he stood erect, with a cheerful countenance, before his executioners. He opened his doublet, and bared his manly bosom to their fire. "See, I'm ready ! Rebels, do your worst !" were the last words he uttered. Before he ceased to speak, the Roundheads fired, and he fell lifeless ; four bullets had pierced his heart. Sir George Lisle was now brought forward : he knelt down and kissed the dead face of his friend, with lips that were in a few moments to be as cold. Then rising, and looking upon the firing party, he told them that they stood too far. One of them replied, "Never fear, sir ; I'll warrant we'll hit you !" The Cavalier smiled as he said, "I have been nearer you when you have missed me." Then, after a short prayer, he too gave the order to fire, and nearly in the same words his dying friend had used—"I'm ready ! Traitors, do your worst !" That moment he fell dead.

Time would fail me to tell of Montrose ! of Derby ! and amidst a distant rumbling I hear a harsh voice saying, "But where's the King's Book ?"

It would be impossible to say with certainty who printed each edition, just at this time following the King's execution, nor would any great result follow if we knew. By reason of Presses being broken up, and sometimes, too, secretly removed from one place to another ; and also to some men being imprisoned, and others hunted out of the land, the evidences which under ordinary circumstances substantiate certain points would in this case not prove anything.

Masson's *Life of Milton*, Vol. IV., p. 36 :—

But O what a reception it had ! Copies of it ran about instantaneously, and were read with sobs and tears. It was in vain that Parliament, March 16, gave orders for seizing the book. It was reprinted at once in various forms, to supply the constant demand, which was not satisfied, it is said, with less than fifty editions within a single year. It became a very Bible in English Royalist households.

Thus has a cruel fate made Professor Masson (the delightful historian of Milton, but the disparager of *Eikon* royal authorship) go even beyond

all tradition, though with an unaccountable carelessness, he has not said whether these athletic copies raced on two legs or on four, to meet the eager buyers.

I am sorry, but I cannot keep my wicked, wayward fancy from picturing King Charles giving vent to his opinion of Professor Masson as a writer of the English tongue.

The next edition I will mention stands alone. It is in eights, and paged 1-302. It has, at the end, the prayers, etc., not paged. It was evidently printed by DuGard, and has a frontispiece—always an early impression—by William Marshall. I particularly mention this as fairly indicating when this version of the frontispiece was ready. (No. 15.)

In most other cases the presence or absence of a frontispiece or other portrait of the King indicates little or nothing. Undoubtedly when the illustrations were ready, especially the design known to have been drawn for the purpose by the King's own hand, they would be sold separately, and added to various editions.

Only very rarely have I found any folding plate in a quite early edition, and then it has happened to be a very worn impression, added after the book was issued. It is well to mention this, because thirty years ago some learned correspondent of *Notes and Queries* was quite indignant at the suggestion that the very earliest editions had no plates, and this mistaken idea has been repeated in recent years. Even such a conscientious writer as Professor Masson, at p. 33 of Vol. IV. of his *Life of Milton*, writes:—"No printer's or publisher's name appeared in the first copies; but there was a prefixed allegorical design by the engraver Wm. Marshall."

Many readers who have been accustomed to think of the picture of the King kneeling will be surprised to hear that there are at least seventeen varieties of this subject—twelve show the King's face in profile, and five are three-quarters-face. (Since preparing this, one of the Latin editions has been found, with a version of the frontispiece signed "W. Hollar Bohem. fecit.") Portraits of the King have appeared in the editions mentioned in the following tables, but the plates found therein must not be taken as any indication that they belonged essentially to those editions.

## EMBLEMATICAL FRONTISPICE PORTRAITS OF THE KING KNEELING. THE PROFILE.

N <sup>o</sup> .	COPY.	SIZE OF PLATE.		DESCRIPTION.
55	"Bf : 4 : n : 1" .	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	Right	This is an emblematical picture, with the King kneeling; face profile. The same symbols are used, but differently placed; and instead of two weights suspended from a tree, there are two figures of soldiers, each holding on to a branch of the tree. At foot of the plate is engraved " <i>A Roven Chez Jean Berthelin Dans La Cour Du Palais fecii.</i> " On the opposite leaf is "Explication de l'Emblème."
28	"AT A SURGEON'S SHOP" . . .	6 by 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Left	The King is in profile, kneeling on <i>both</i> knees, with a crown of thorns in his right hand. At foot of the plate is an inscription, beginning " <i>Christie iubes pereat gemmis onerata corona.</i> "
5	"WEST HORSLEY"	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6	Right	" <i>Guil. Marshall, Sculpsit.</i> "
1	"ELMES" . . .			
3	"BRO. THOMAS".			
1	"ABDY". . . .			
2	"ORLEANS" . . .			
48	"5" (Royal Arms)			
43	"HOBBARTE" . .	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	Right	" <i>Guil. Marshall, Sculpsit.</i> " The Explanation is engraved, and signed "G. D."
46	"A" . . . . .	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6	Right	" <i>Guil. Marshall, Sculpsit.</i> " The Explanation is the same plate, but much of it re-engraved.
19	"OGLANDER" . .			
21	"DAVIES" . . .			
6	"F. MADAN (3)".	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	Right	" <i>Guil. Marshall, Sculpsit.</i> " The Explanation is printed.

## EMBLEMATICAL FRONTISPICE PORTRAITS OF THE KING KNEELING. SMALL PROFILE.

35	"H. COURtenay"	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	Right	Signed "P." The Explanation is on a separate leaf.
32	"ANN BEESLEY".	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	Right	The Explanation is on a separate leaf.
16	"NO PAGINATION"	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	Right	Signed "P." The Explanation (in English only) is on a folding leaf.
18	"RIDGWAYS" . .	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	Right	
8	"MAISTERMAN"	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ high, width torn	Right	
26	"Rev. F. ROUCH"	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ high, width torn	Right	

John Raphael Smith, the famous engraver of the last century, has executed two mezzotint plates of this subject. One measures  $6\frac{13}{16}$  by  $4\frac{5}{8}$  inches, and the other 13 by  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches. At the foot of the smaller engraving is "*Charle's the 1<sup>st</sup>, &c. | of whom the World was not Worthy. Heb. 11. 38.*" The same inscription is on the larger version, but in Greek characters.

EMBLEMATICAL FRONTISPICE PORTRAITS OF THE KING KNEELING.  
THREE-QUARTERS-FACE.

No.	COPY.	SIZE OF PLATE.		DESCRIPTION.
17	"F. MADAN (27)"	3½ by 3¼ <i>Inches.</i>	Right	Underneath is engraved "King CHARLES y <sup>e</sup> I at his Meditations." "R. P."
39	"KINNAIRD" and "J. B. MARSH".	3¾ by 3½	Right	The Explanation is on opposite leaf, with "G. D." at the foot of it.
42	"SOUTHBY" . . .	6⅔ by 5⅓	Right	"Guil. Marshall, delineo: et sculpsit." The Explanation is engraved, and signed "G. D."
42	"ELLIS," &c. . .			
43	"HAMPSON" . . .			
44	"METHWOLD" . . .			
15	"H. B." . . .	6½ by 5½	Right	"Guil. Marshall, Sculpsit." The Explanation is printed, and signed "G. D."
15	"HUTTON," &c.			
15	"DURAND" . . .			
22	"COPELAND" . . .			
44	"G. HAND" . . .			
62	"1681 8vo." . . .	6⅔ by 4	Right	"R. White, sculp." A different plate.

Versions of this allegorical portrait are found in a few churches—sometimes a stained glass window, and, in other cases, an oil painting. Of the latter kind is the picture in the old parish church of Rotherhithe. The rector, the Rev. E. J. Beck, writes to me: "It has been here since the Restoration." There is, too, a painting of the subject in St. Michael's Church, Cambridge. Until the restoration of the church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, an oil painting of this subject used to hang therein, concerning which Mrs. Hilda Gamlin has very kindly sent me the following particulars:—

Samuel Pepys, in his faithful record of daily life, tells that, "on October 2, 1664, Lord's Day, he walked with his boy through the City of London, putting in at several churches, among others at Bishopsgate, and there saw the picture usually put before the King's Book put up in the church, but very ill painted, though it were a pretty piece to set up in a church." This entry refers to a life-sized picture of King Charles the First; the church in question being that dedicated to St. Botolph.

In *A New View of London*, 1708, Vol. I., p. 169, the picture is mentioned as hanging in the same edifice.

In 1732 the picture is again described in *New Remarks of London; or, a Survey of the City of London and Westminster, collected by the Company of Parish Clerks, London*, and it is alluded to as "an original or a remarkable imitation." At this date of 1732, the painting had been transferred to the new church, and hung on the wall of the stairs leading to the north gallery. Though the church escaped the furious element which consumed so many sacred places of worship during the Great Fire of London, it was rebuilt in 1725.

Later still, we find that the Rev. Joseph Nightingale, in his *London and Middlesex*, 1815, Vol. III., p. 153, alludes to the painting as "a fine picture of Charles the First, emblematically describing his sufferings."

A few months ago it became known that the picture was no longer in the church, and query elicited a statement that during the recent re-decorating of the building an expert was called in to report upon the picture. He decided that it was of no merit, artistic or otherwise, and as it would probably cost some £70 or £80 to renovate and repair, it was removed *and destroyed*.

It is certainly reprehensible that a historical, symbolical picture (church property) should have been ruthlessly made away with, without an appeal for funds to those who (putting aside party consideration, which time has softened) would have willingly contributed towards necessary repairs to perpetuate so interesting a memorial.

The verdict of the expert cannot be regarded as absolute grounds for its destruction, for we have the reports of other equally competent judges who approved its presence; and the total destruction of church-trusted property was no more permissible than would be the demolition of statues in our great cathedrals and minsters when time or accident has destroyed a prominent feature.

There are also seven varieties of the vignette portrait of Charles II. as Prince of Wales which frequently faces the opening of chapter 27, and whoever engraved them possessed one good quality—just wit enough to be ashamed to sign his work. These vignettes are found in the editions mentioned in the following table.

## VIGNETTES OF CHARLES II. AS PRINCE OF WALES.

No.	COPY.	SIZE OF PLATE.		DESCRIPTION.	
5	"E. SOLLY" . .	Inches. 3½ by 2¾	Right	"Natus May 29 Ano 1630, Ætatis Sue 19."	A curtain as a background. Close to the figure is a crown of thorns, enclosing a rose, shamrock, and thistle.
5	"WEST HORSLEY"				
6	"F. MADAN (3)" .				
21	"H. DAVIES" . .				
27	"A. DEVON" . .				
46	"A." . . . . .				
35	"H. COURtenay"	3½ by 2¾	Left (n.f.f.)	A separate engraving, and signed "P."	In the background are outlines of some buildings.
48	"ROYAL ARMS" .				
49	"BATEMAN" . .				
25	"SAUL" . . . .	3¾ by 2¾	Right (n.f.f.)	Quite a different ver- sion; but has the crown of thorns, &c.	
44	"METHWOLD" . .				
45	"B. M. 807 A. 43" .	4½ by 3½		Apparently a retouch of the preceding. There are horizontal lines across the sash.	
32	"ANN BEESLEY" .	3¼ by 2½	Left (n.f.f.)	Engraved again. The Prince is represented in armour.	There is the outline of a building, and a label near bears the inscription "RICHMOND." Below the portrait, but on the plate, is "Carolus Princeps Wallie Dux Cornubie, &c. (Ætatis sue 19)."
17	"MADAN (27)" . .	2½ by 1¾	Left (n.f.f.)		
39	"KINNAIRD" . .		Right (n.f.f.)		Four heads in a square rule, measuring 3½ by 3½. They are: Charles I, Henrietta Maria, Charles II, and James II.

A version of the well-known emblematical portrait (signed "R. White, sculp.") is found in a folio volume entitled "*The Memoires of the Lives and Actions of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton and Castleherald, &c. . . . By Gilbert Burnet. . . . 1677.*" The portrait is introduced as part of the text, and will be found at p. 380. On the next three pages is the poem, "Majesty in Misery" (here reprinted in full on pp. 121-3). One of the ovals of Charles II. as Prince of Wales is in "*Instructions and Directions*

*for Forren Travell . . . By James Howell . . . 1650.*" Facing the portrait are verses headed "To the growing Glory of Great Britaine, Prince Charles. A Parallell 'twixt His Highnesse and the Black Prince." An oval of Charles II. "Ætatis suæ 19," with "IERSEY" engraved on plate, precedes the frontispiece and title of the British Museum copy of Christopher Wase's *Electra of Sophocles*.

There is a 1648 edition in twelves (*see* No. 25), paged 1-225, the prayers, etc., 1-6, and evidently printed by Bentley. It is not included in Wagstaffe's list. I have a copy of it which belonged to the family of Saul, a family distinguished amongst the descendants of royalty recorded by Burke. Later, this book came into the possession of Dr. Bliss, and has his book-plate and autograph memoranda. Bound up with it, in old black morocco, black edges, stamped, is a late Charles I. Prayer-Book, wanting Title page. The Prayer-Book was printed by Bentley, and there is no copy of it in the British Museum. No doubt when these two cherished works were bound together they required to be carried with care, and shown with caution.

To come now to sets of editions dated 1649 (some of them probably issued subsequently to the 25th of March following the execution of the King), what Wagstaffe in his list called the best edition was a full-sized octavo.\* There are three variations of this (*see* Nos. 42-44). The *Eikon* is paged 1-256, and the prayers, etc., are paged to 263. The type is large, and paper thick, but there are many faults. Some copies contain a folding-plate, and some the vignette oval head of the King, attributed to Hollar. A few have an oval of Charles II. as Prince of Wales. Copies of these editions were sold for five shillings, equivalent in value to a guinea of the present day.

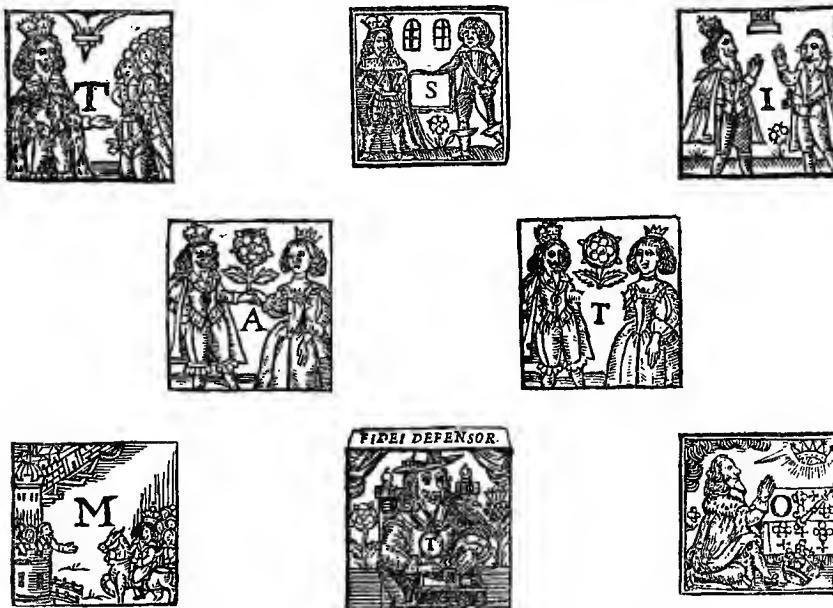
I will next mention a very curious and interesting set of editions (*see* Nos. 37-40). It would be quite true, though seemingly absurd, to describe these as "just alike, but quite different." They followed one after the other, and no doubt very rapidly. They are in twelves, but very

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\* Lord Aldenham has a copy, in very fine binding. It is in dark green morocco, with a beautiful gilt border of flowers. The binding is not old, but the edges are gilt, stamped, probably contemporary with the work.

small, the binding measurement being less than 4 by 2 inches. The size is in fact convenient for a small waistcoat pocket. I have the actual copy referred to by Dr. Philip Bliss in the following terms :—

Among the various editions of the *Eikon Basilike*, the most curious, I say nothing of authenticity or intrinsic merit, is one printed for Royston, 1649, 24mo. The Title-page is printed in the form of a pillar, supported by the rose and thistle, and the initial letters are wood-cuts, rudely executed, representing the King addressing his parliament, conversing with his son, etc. It possesses also a head of Charles II., when a boy of nineteen, which has generally been cut out from the volume. An edition of *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinæ*, of the exact size, printed "Hagve, 1657," forms a valuable companion to the former; indeed the two volumes are of very rare occurrence.



INITIAL LETTERS USED IN THE "WAISTCOAT-POCKET" EDITIONS  
ISSUED BY JOHN WILLIAMS.

The top right hand block (No. 3) represents the King and Alexander Henderson settling the religions of the universe. Block No. 5 of the above series of initials (Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, with the rose of England between them) is also used at the beginning of the "Dedication to the Lady Cordell," in "*Aeternalia . . . . By Francis Craven, M.A., and minister of the Gospel, at Acton, in Suffolk . . . . 1677.*"

As will be noticed, Dr. Bliss and the editor of *Notes and Queries*, who quoted him, knew of only one of these charming little editions. Up to the present time, I believe that no really large collection of editions has ever been brought together, and carefully examined from cover to cover. More than this, there are some points which I have only elucidated by comparing many copies of the same edition.

In a few cases, it seems that Royston adopted the following plan:— Having formed a scheme, probably of his own designing, he entrusted it to several printers to execute, the following printers working in some sort of connection with each other—DuGard, Bentley, Williams, Shears, and Eglesfield. DuGard bought Young's Press (see Stationers' Company's Extracts, p. 18), but, as would be not unnatural, the name "Young" appeared in the imprint on the Title pages for some time afterwards, and several Civil War Tracts bore the imprint "London, Printed by R. Young, His Majesty's Printer, to the Prince His Highness MDCXL."

This mode of printing and publishing the *Eikon* reminds one of the system adopted in the manufacture of cheap clothing—work that is "put out." There are, say, fifty suits to be cut out, sewn, and finished off, the work being "given out" to several families, each of whom undertake a few suits, purchasing their buttons, thread, etc., at different shops. Hence the variations in the *Eikon*. A large number of editions are so alike in their general appearance, it is only by closely examining them word by word, and leaf by leaf, that variations can be detected.

I have long felt that seventeenth century printing, publishing, and bookselling offer an interesting field for investigation. At present the land lies fallow, and ready for the Bibliographical Society to till it. At the period referred to good printing was hardly to be found, but the study of fine typography, though extremely interesting, is not the essential work of a Bibliographical Society.

I have not yet mentioned the editions printed at the Hague, because I thought it better to refer to them apart from the 1648 and 1649 editions printed in England. It used to be the practice to suggest that some of those editions with the Hague imprint were printed in London, and that some

with a London imprint were really printed at the Hague. Those who adopted the first idea probably did not know that Samuel Browne, instead of being, as then likely enough supposed, a spurious name, was the name of a sturdy Scot established as a British bookseller at the Hague. The following letter is by Capt. (afterwards Bishop) Peter Mews, and is dated "Hage, Iun 4<sup>th</sup>, Friday, 1655":—

One of y<sup>e</sup> Pamphlets speakes as though y<sup>e</sup> Portugal and y<sup>e</sup> Rebels would breake, and I heard the greate Jew of Amsterdam yesterday at Browns shop proffer mony vppon the affirmatiue side. (Page 328, Vol. V., Camden New Series—*Nicholas Papers*.)

From the history of the period it is probable that the demand for *Eikons* was as brisk at the Hague as round about St. Paul's. (See Stationers' Company's Minutes, pp. 20 and 23; also, under *Eikon* No. 30, the States-General's License.) Still, it is often a very difficult point to decide "who printed." For instance, Samuel Browne seems to have taken with him to the Hague, a printing press, etc., from London; again, much of the type then used in England was cast in Holland; and, lastly, very many books published in England were printed on paper made in Holland. I feel very diffident about the "who" and "where." Indeed, I expect to be annihilated by some one writing, perhaps from what "our own correspondent" would call the "classic shades of Cam or Isis," to prove that, with the exception of a few printed in Kentucky, the editions came from the private press of the Sultan of Morocco.

The prayers included in the later editions, and about which so much has been written, were no doubt obtained from Juxon. The following occurs in a letter, dated March 1, 1694, written by Dr. Thomas Gibb to the Honourable Charles Hatton:—

Pamela's Prayer was transferred out of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* into *Eikon Basilike* by a contrivance of Bradshaw's and Milton's. Sir, I make no secret of it, and I frankly tell you my author, who was Mr. Henry Hills, Oliver's printer; and the occasion, as he many years ago told me, was this: "Mr. Dugard, who was Milton's intimate friend, happened to be taken printing an edition of the King's Book. Milton used his interest to bring him off, which he effected by the means of Bradshaw, but upon this condition that Dugard should add Pamela's Prayer to the aforesaid book he was printing, as an atonement for his fault, and designing thereby to bring a scandal upon the book, and blast the reputation of its Author; pursuant to which Design they industriously took care afterwards, as soon as published, to have it taken notice of." (See p. 17.)

I do not think much of this point. Certainly, when prayers are composed, the writer usually goes to the various sources which he thinks best, and the last thing he aims at is originality.

THIS TABLE GIVES THE NUMBER, NAMES, AND ORDER OF THE PRAYERS.

<i>No.</i>	<i>COPY.</i>	<i>THESE COLUMNS INDICATE THE PARTICULAR PRAYERS.</i>				
15	"HUTTON" . . }					
43	"HAMPSON" . . }	In time of Captivity.	Another Prayer.	In time of Affliction.	In time of Imminent Danger.	
6	"F. MADAN (3)" }					
5	"E. SOLLY" . . }					
45	"6" . . . . }					
48	"5" (Royal Arms and Bateman)					
49						
47	"4" . . . . .	(1) O Most Glorious Lord God. (2) Uxbridge. (3) Newport.	do. This, but called "4. A Prayer for Pardon of Sins."	(5) do.	(6) do.	"Diverse of His Majesty's Prayers, whereof the 3 last were" etc.
19	"OGLANDER," &c.					
15	"TREGASKIS" . . }	In time of Captivity, and then a heading "Additional Prayers" (1) O most (Exeter) (2) Uxbridge. (3) Newport.	This as (5th), but called "A Prayer for Pardon of Sin."	(6) do.	(7) do.	
22	"W.I. COPELAND"	In time of Captivity.	Another Prayer.	do.	do.	
45	"PRICE" . . .	Additional. (1) O most. (2) Uxbridge. (3) Newport.	This, but called "A Prayer for Pardon."	(5) do.	(6) do.	
40	"HATLEY" . . }			do.	do.	
39	"KINNAIRD" . . }	In time of Captivity.		do.	do.	
37	"NEEDLEWORK" }			do.	do.	
38	"HUNTER, Jun." }	do.		do.	do.	
36	"8" . . . . . }	do.		do.	do.	
17	"MADAN (27)" . . }	do.	Another Prayer.	do.	do.	
46	"7" . . . . . }	do.		do.	do.	





Good Lord I thank thee for temporal & spiritual comforte to kepe me the rest from all dangers or mischances that may happen to me. Hold me dear thoughts which may shalfe or ease my soule for Jesu Christ his sake; & bid Lorde reme me thy unnesse friends who were present at his life at the sacrement place but now gone. O Father through thy mediation of Jesus Christ my Saviour then thou wyl make me acceptable to thy selfe, & to thy electe stirs in thy presence, & to please with the members of thine election, and holy & eternall God; to know certeyn that in him I was born againe & reborn, & that ever since I have lived in sygnes set on me & broken all thy Holy commandments, by fyrstel nottynge, my othes, & wicked workes, omitting manie deuotis I ought to do, & comding manie vices, whiche thou hast forbidden under paine of penaunce & pasure; as for Sinnen O Lord they are innumerable; in thy misericordia, therefore, of thy mercies, & by the medity of Jesus Christ thy sonne, thy Deucyne & yester, that thou wouldest not let me sige more with thy seruantes; nor see extreme torment what is yet comynge, but with thy merciful ymme, & wash me away in my dñeas, with this myne & ones precioues word that Jesus Christ brought for me; & not only waple away all my dñeas, but also purge my herte, by holly Spirit, from the angle of my naturall corruption; & as thon hast given syng to my lyfe say good Lord add reuertance to my dayes, that when I haue laid this mortal lyfe I may see a pariture of thy everlasting Kingdome through Jesus Christ our Sone.

### Fac-simile of the MS. Prayer.

(See pp. 49, 50.)



For my part I feel strongly that the twenty-eight chapters of the *Eikon* alone are the subject of undying interest, and, had it been practicable, I would not have noticed at great length either prayers or frontispieces.

In 1880, Mr. John B. Marsh made the happy discovery of one of the prayers in the King's own handwriting (now reproduced in fac-simile), and I have reprinted the announcement as it appeared in the *Antiquary* for May, 1880:—

#### AUTOGRAPH PRAYER OF CHARLES I.

The announcement of the discovery, in the Record Office, of a prayer wholly in the handwriting of Charles I, which, in a slightly altered form, appears amongst the prayers of the *Eikon Basilike*, has excited a vast amount of interest in many parts of England, not only amongst literary men, but others, who were only partially acquainted with the controversy as to the authorship of that book which has raged for nearly two centuries and a-half. Amongst the latter class a most exaggerated notion prevailed as to the extent of the new discovery, and one covetous old gentleman, a thorough believer in the martyrdom of the King, has written to me asking whether, as the whole of the MS. of the *Eikon* has now been discovered, I would negotiate for him the purchase of a few leaves. No announcement warranted any such notion being entertained. There need be no mystery about the matter, because the existence of this prayer has been positively known to scholars for eighteen years; it is the identity of the MS. with a prayer in the *Eikon* which has come now as a pleasant surprise to all. The first reference to the prayer appears in the Calendar of State Papers for 1862, in which the late Mr. John Bruce summarised the Domestic Correspondence for the years 1631–1633. On page 279, a reference to the prayer is made in these words:—

February. 91. A form of prayer suitable for daily use, and by certain alterations, applicable to either the morning or the evening. It is in the handwriting of the King; perhaps a copy made by him from some known form. It is partly derived from the Book of Common Prayer, and partly from the Sacred Scriptures. [One page. It is indorsed by the King, "A Prayer," and, by another hand, "Lent Preachers, 1631," as if it had been written upon the blank half-sheet of a list of Lent preachers at Court. One page.]

The doubt thrown upon the originality of the composition has no doubt kept all literary searchers from any further examination of the document. Another curious fact about the MS. is, that Mr. Bruce printed the full text in the Preface of this particular Calendar, and in examining the Calendar it entirely escaped my attention, so that when I wanted a copy, I applied for, and was allowed to copy, and also trace a portion of the original. The fact, however, is singular, that the prayer was easily accessible to all searchers, and yet its identity had not hitherto been discovered. Before referring to Mr. Bruce's remarks in the Preface, an examination of the two prayers will assist readers of the *Antiquary* in forming an important opinion upon the question of identity.

*The MS. Prayer.*

Good Lord, I thanke for keeping mee this day  
I humblie beseeche Thee to keepe mee this night  
from all dangers or mischances that may happen to  
my Boddie, and all euell thoughts which may assaile  
or hurt my Sowel for Jesus Christ His sake ; and  
looke upon mee Thy unworthie seruant, who heere  
prostrates him selfe at Thy Throne of grace, but looke  
upon me, O Father, through the merites and mediation  
of Jesus Christ, Thy beloued Sone, in whom  
Thou art onlie well pleased ; for of my selfe I am  
not worthie to stand in Thy presence, or to speake  
with my uncleane lips to Thee, most holly and  
eternall God ; for Thou knowest that in Sinn I was  
conceaved and borne, and that euer since I have liued  
in Inquietie, so that I haue broken all Thy holly  
commandements by sinfull motions, euell words, and  
wicked workes, omitting manie dewties I ought to  
doe, and comitting many vyses, which Thou hast  
forbiden vnder paine of heavie displeasure. As for  
sinnes, O Lord, they are innumerable in the multi-  
tude, therefore, of Thy mercies, and by the merites  
of Jesus Christ, I intreate Thy deuyne Majestie that  
Thou wouldest not enter into iugement with Thy  
seruant, nor be extreame to marke what is done  
amisse, but bee Thou mercifull to mee, and washe  
away all my sinnes, with the merits of that pretious  
blood that Jesus Christ shed for mee ; and not onlie  
washe away all my Sinnes, but also to purge my hart,  
by holly Spirit, from the drosse of my naturall cor-  
ruption ; and as Thou doest add dayes to my lyfe, so [good  
Lord] add repentance to my dayes, that when I have  
past this mortall lyfe I may bee a partaker of Thy ever-  
lasting kingdome through Jesus Christ our Lorde.

*The Second of the Prayers in the Eikon.*

Almighty and most merciful Father, look down  
upon me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate  
myself at the footstool of Thy throne of grace; but  
look upon me O Father, through the mediation and  
the merits of Jesus Christ, in whom Thou art only  
well pleased ; for, of myself, I am not worthy to stand  
before Thee, or to speak with my unclean lips to Thee, -  
most holy and eternal God ; for as in sin I was con-  
ceived and born, so likewise I have broken all Thy  
commandments by my sinful motions, unclean thoughts,  
evil words, and wicked works ; omitting many duties I  
ought to do, and committing many vices which Thou  
hast forbidden under pain of Thy heavy displeasure.  
As for my sins, O Lord, they are innumerable ; where-  
fore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life,  
and everlasting torments in that to come, if Thou  
shouldst deal with me according to my deserts. I  
confess, O Lord, that it is Thy mercy (which endureth  
for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails),  
which is the cause that I have not been long ago con-  
sumed : but with Thee there is mercy and plenteous  
redemption ; in the multitude therefore of Thy mercies,  
and by the merites of Jesus Christ, I entreat Thy Divine  
Majesty that Thou wouldest not enter into judgment  
with Thy servant, nor be extreme to mark what is done  
amiss ; but be Thou merciful unto me, and wash away  
all my sins with that precious Blood that my Saviour  
shed for me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only  
to wash away all my sins, but also to purge my heart  
by Thy Holy Spirit from the dross of my natural cor-  
ruption ; and as Thou dost add dayes to my life, so,  
good Lord, I beseech Thee to add repentance to my  
days, that when I have past this mortal life I may be  
partaker of Thy everlasting kingdom, through the  
merits of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In reference to this document, Mr. Bruce, in his Preface to the Calendar, wrote thus :—

One of the most valuable papers in the volume, in reference to the King, and which reflects his personal character and opinions in a way which will be particularly interesting to many people, is a form of daily, morning, and evening prayer, which is wholly in the King's handwriting. I have not been able to discover its origin as a separate composition, nor to find any evidence of its authorship. It does not contain any petition for guidance in the exercise of kingly duties, nor anything else which may be regarded as specially applicable to the King's royal condition. It, therefore, looks to me like a fair copy of a prayer intended for general use made by the King; but it is observable that, if that be the case, His Majesty in writing it adopted his own peculiar spelling—a spelling founded on the Scottish pronunciation, which adhered to him throughout his life. The prayer seems to have been written on the blank half of a sheet of paper on which was originally inscribed a list of the Lent preachers in 1631-2.

It is plain, therefore, that Mr. Bruce had not the least idea that this prayer was one of those attached to an edition of the *Eikon* published in 1648, and in every subsequent edition ; and how it has escaped identification until the present time is a matter of considerable surprise. Mr. Bruce points out, in consecutive sentences, his gravest doubt about the

originality of the document, and the strongest proof—in the Scotch spelling—that it was the work of the King. In the study of the *Eikon* this prayer should be read first, as, in point of composition, it is undoubtedly the oldest portion of the work, and it will be found to bear an undoubted resemblance to expressions in the devotional portions of the book; it is also entirely free from the fault found with the *Eikon* by Guizot and others. It is right here to remark that it was not until Mr. Scott, of the British Museum, had corroborated the identity of the two prayers that the fact was announced. Mr. Stock's edition of the *Eikon* possesses the merit of one exceptionally valuable proof as to the royal authorship. This is the apophthegmata written by the King in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* [which is exhibited in the King's Library, British Museum], and which correspond with those in the *Eikon*. No such correspondence of thought has ever been found in Dr. Gauden's writings. And it is a pleasant coincidence that in the same edition of the *Eikon* the announcement is first made of the undoubted authorship of the second prayer, which furnishes a key to the whole of the sacred meditations.

JOHN B. MARSH.

P.S.—One correspondent, in writing upon this matter, says:—"One day, at the time when Dr. Wordsworth was engaged upon his wonderful letters upon the subject, he found on his desk the following pasquinade:—

"Who wrote the 'Who wrote  
The Icon Basilikè ?'  
'I,' said the Master of Trinity,  
'With my little ability,  
I wrote the 'Who wrote the  
Icon Basilikè ?'"

The following letter from Mr. Edward J. L. Scott also appeared in the same number of the *Antiquary*:—

#### THE EIKON BASILIKE.

BRITISH MUSEUM, April 2, 1880.

Mr. John B. Marsh has forwarded to me a prayer (which he copied some seven or eight years ago from the original in the Record Office, said to be in the handwriting of Charles I) with the request that I would compare it with the *Eikon Basilike*, in order to discover, if possible, similarities of expression and modes of thought. It struck me instantly that it might be one of the prayers appended to some early copies of the *Eikon*, which are headed "Prayers used by His Majesty in the time of his sufferings. Delivered to Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, immediately before his death." The first of those prayers needed no comparison, being the "infamous plagiarism," as Milton styles it, from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. But on reading the first few lines of the second prayer, I saw at a glance that Mr. Marsh had discovered the actual original, with but a few trifling variations, of that prayer, a discovery which gives indubitable authenticity to what has always, from Milton down to Mr. Pattison, been looked upon as part and parcel of the *Eikon* itself. On communicating my identification of the two prayers to Mr. Marsh, he very courteously brought

me himself a tracing of the beginning of the prayer in the Record Office, and showed me the reference to the volume of *Domestic Papers* calendared by Mr. John Bruce under the date of February, 1632. In the preface to this volume Mr. John Bruce has, at pp. xvi and xvii, printed the prayer at full length, with a few remarks which I venture to reproduce as giving the opinion of one of the greatest writers on the period in question:—"Of King Charles the information scattered throughout the volume is especially illustrative of the temper with which he carried on the government and the extent to which he personally interfered in the management of public affairs. One of the most valuable papers in the volume in reference to the King, and one which reflects his personal character and opinions in a way which will be particularly interesting to many people, is a form of daily morning or evening prayer, which is wholly in the King's handwriting. I have not been able to discover its origin as a separate composition, nor to find any evidence of its authorship. It does not contain any petition for guidance in the exercise of kingly duties, nor anything else which may be regarded as specially applicable to the King's royal condition. It therefore looks to me like a fair copy of a prayer intended for general use made by the King; but it is observable that, if that be the case, His Majesty in writing it adopted his own peculiar spelling—a spelling founded on the Scottish pronunciation, which adhered to him throughout his life. The prayer seems to have been written on the blank half of a sheet of paper, on which was originally inscribed a list of the Lent preachers in 1631-2." I am glad to say that Mr. Marsh intends publishing the prayer in its two forms in parallel columns, with a discussion of its probable bearing on the question of the authorship of the *Eikon*, in the columns of the May number of the *Antiquary*.

By the kindness of the Vicar of Hillingdon, near Uxbridge, I have been favoured with an inspection of a copy of the *Eikon* belonging to Hillingdon Church Library, which differs from any copy I have seen. On the reverse of the first leaf are the following verses, headed

THE MINDE OF THE FRONTISPICE.

Before three Kingdoms-Monarch three Crowns lie;  
Of Gold; of Thorn; of Glory; bright, but vain;  
Sharp, yet but light; eternal to remain:  
O'th World; of Christ; of Heaven: At 's Foot, Hand, Eye,  
He spurns, accepts, expects. Kneels, yet doth reign.  
  
A Sun, a Rock, a Palm-tree: (Emblems fit)  
The Sun in Clouds: the Rock in waves o'th Sea:  
The Palm-trees boughs depress'd with weights: Yet see,  
The Sun shines out more bright, the Rock's unsplitt:  
Unmov'd: the Palm-tree flourishes. So HEE.

Then follows the usual engraving by Marshall; but on the following leaf the title-page is printed alternately in red and black type, and between the usual motto, "Bona Agere," and the date is a large space, where are printed the initials "C. R." for Carolus Rex, surmounted by a crown, and underneath a human skull. At the foot is the date in red, M.DC.XLVIII.

Judging from the above facts, I suppose it to be one of the earliest copies in existence, and probably printed by Royston, certainly not by Dugard.

In reading over lately the correspondence of Archbishop Sancroft, in the collection of Harley MSS., I came across a letter, dated January 15th, 1662-3, to Sancroft from George Davenport, chaplain and librarian to Bishop Cosin, which contains the following curious passage, possibly relating to the *Eikon Basilike* :—"As for Mr. Gauden, I never heard from him or of him, since mine in December to you; nor can I tell what to say. Res suas agat." Bishop Gauden died on the 20th September, 1662, just four months before Davenport's epistle.

EDWARD SCOTT.

The following early references to the *Eikon Basilike* are of interest. In writing these, I have made much use of Dr. Christopher Wordsworth's books. Someone will say that I ought to distinguish him from his son, the late Bishop of Lincoln. I had the honour of knowing that great man—who so united in himself Christian simplicity and knightly chivalry. His father has, by his manly way of stating so fairly his opponent's case, shown that he had some of the sterling virtues of his famous son. No one should attempt to judge the authorship *crux* without reading every word written thereon by the old Master of Trinity.

1649. *Compleat History of Independency.* By Clement Walker, Esq.:—

About this time rose a phoenix out of his Majesty's ashes, that most excellent issue of his brain entitled *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes, &c.*, a book full fraught with wisdom, divine and human. Herod and his Jews never persecuted Christ in his swaddling clothes with more industrious malice than the anti-monarchical Independent Faction did this book in the presses and shops that should bring it forth into the world, knowing that, as the remembrance of heaven strikes a horror into us of hell, so the contemplation of his virtues will teach us to abhor their vices. [Part II., p. 138, edit. 1661. See also pp. 157 and 188.]

1657. *Life of Archbishop Williams.* By Bishop Hacket :—

Indeed his Majesty, in his *Icon Basilike*, doth seem to represent it as if he did not approve what he received from the four Bishops at that consultation. And I will leave such good men to his censure, rather than contradict anything in that most pious, most ravishing book, which deserves as much as Tully said of Crassus in his Brutus, *Ipsum melius potuisse scribere, alium ut arbitror, neminem*. Perhaps the King could have wrote better, but I think no man else in the three kingdoms. What a venomous spirit is in that serpent Milton, that black-mouthed Zoilus, that blows his vipers breath upon those immortal Devotions from the beginning to the end. . . . That Book, the Picture of King Charles's innocent soul, which he hath blemished with vile reproaches, will be the *Vade Mecum* of godly persons, and always about them, like a Guardian Angel. [Part II., p. 162.]

1658. *Compleat History of the Life and Reign of King Charles.* By W. Sanderson, Esq.:—

But although the English Lords and Scotch were earnest for a Parliament to drive on their design, which afterwards appeared, yet the King was much inclining also to call one, which his candid and ingenious consideration of necessity grounded upon such reasons, as himself expresseth in his most admired Treatise, his excellent Book *Icon Basilike*, (which we hereafter shall see occasion in some particulars to mention), it being the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings, with his Spiritual Meditations upon each Chapter and Occasion; written no doubt, from the truth of a troubled soul, and indisputable to be of his own compiling. And although an industrious malignant Pen (Milton) hath laboured to wrest that honor from his sacred memory, he cannot fix it in likelihood upon any other person in the world; the majesty and manner of the stile only is his, and unimitable by any other. None but the same sad sorrowful Soul could be able to compose so much upon several occasions so evenly concurring, but himself the true sufferer.

Besides, if you please to observe, it is not unlike the gravity of Master Hooker's style in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which the King often perused, and was a sufficient master of defence thereby; and which book, in his last words to his children, he recommends to them to read. Nay more; observe his Public declarations and Answers following, when other helps (very often) failed him: compare their stiles; and see how they agree in the dialect.

This Book, whilst in loose papers, (ere it was complete), and secured into his cabinet, and that being lost, was seized by the enemy at Naseby fight: but these papers haply rescued, and so came to his Majesty's hands again, who in the end, commended them to his faithful servant, that Minister of God's word, Master Symmōis, with command to see them imprinted. And his study being searched, they were by good providence secured about him in his bosom. And though the industry of the adversary had been to prevent it, the book came forth some time after the King's death, with so incredible an esteem, as that it hath since been translated into all modern tongues, but Spanish, (the Jesuits malice and envy suppressing it there) and into all manner of folios for bigness. And a learned traveller (Macedonian by birth) being here, read it over, and translated it into Greek, and carried it over beyond seas, where it was so imprinted from his copy. [Page 324. See also p. 1139, etc.]

1658. *A Short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles, from his Birth to his Burial.* By Dr. Peter Heylin:—

During the time of these restraints, he betook himself to meditation, and then composed that most excellent book, entitled *Icon Basilike, or the Portraiture*, &c.

The honor of his work some mercenary sticklers for the two houses of Parliament have laboured to deprive him of, and to transfer to some other, though they know not whom. [Page 138.]

But though he dies thus in the strength of his years, he still lives in the memories of all good men: and by that most excellent portraiture, which he hath made of himself will be preserved alive amongst all nations.

*The Portraiture of King Charles in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, will be a character in his parts and piety beyond all expressions but his own; a Monument of richer metal than all the tombs of brass or marble, erected to the honor of his predecessors which no inscription whatever, though in letters of gold, and engraven with a pen of diamonds, can be able to parallel. [Page 162.]

When the volume, travelling to him as rapidly as was possible at the time, reached Sir Edward Nicholas, at his place of exile, how do we find him speaking, in a letter to the illustrious Marquess of Ormonde, then in Ireland? :

I have delivered to your Noble Lady, for your Excellency, His Late Majesty's *Portraiture*, being the most exquisite pions and Princely piece that I ever read.

Lord Clarendon, then Sir Edward Hyde, wrote of it as "The immortal Monument he hath left behind him."

To come to recent times, Dr. Wordsworth writes:—

But further. It is well known that the effects produced on the minds of the People of England, I might indeed say, of Europe, by the publication of the *Icon Basilike* were very extraordinary. I now ask therefore, was there anything of a different character discernible in the results consequent upon the personal presence and conversations of the King, in his seasons of affliction and during the professed periods of the composing of that volume, but while little or nothing could yet be known publicly of its existence? Quite otherwise. The two sets of phenomena are in perfect correspondence and harmony with each other. Wherever he came, with whomsoever he had discoursed, faction and rebellion vanished, or were silent, and, in multitudes of cases, all the unfriendly passions were speedily transformed into the deepest sympathy, and soon into an ardent veneration and loyalty. Hence the frequent changes, by authority of Parliament, of the King's attendants and servants, because they could not trust them. "I employed Huntingdon," says Cromwell, "'as the man about the King:' but he is so bewitched with him, that I am afraid of him." And thus emotions were produced by the living language of the King's demeanour and conduct, his virtues and sufferings, in every way accordant with those mixed feelings of grief, admiration, and self-reproaches, which the Book, *The King's Portraiture*, his written language, shortly afterwards excited to a degree, perhaps, unequalled by any Work that the world ever saw.

E. Warburton's *Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* notes:—

It is assumed as an ascertained fact by popular writers, that Dr. Gauden wrote this admirable work; the same party motive prejudices now against its authenticity that

prevailed in the seventeenth century. However, Milton believed it was written by Charles, as is evident from his *Iconoclastes*; and all internal evidence is strongly in its favour. The principal objections to its genuineness are the claim to have written it by a scheming, disreputable Dr. Gauden and his talkative wife, and the flippant rejection of it as a paternal authority by one of the most *worthless* men that ever lived—the King's own son. It is confessed, at all events, by the impugners of its truth, as having been accepted by Charles the First as his own composition; he accepted all the sentiments that were attributed to him therein; a forger of such a work must have been a most daring subject, a most consummate judge of the human heart, and a most admirable writer who could have so arranged such sentiments for such a king; Gauden was none of those, he was made Bishop of Exeter for his imposture; it was easier for the easy Charles II to make him so, than to disprove his pertinacious assertions. To most enquirers Dr. Wordsworth's dissertation will prove convincing on this matter. [Vol. II., p. 38.]

I will now give, *in extenso*, a copy of the "Contents" of the *Eikon Basilike*. This has been set up from No. 1.

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17 Of the diff. betw. the K. & the 2 Houses, &c.	-	-	-	-	p. 133
18 Vpon the <i>Vxbridge</i> Treaty, and their offers made to the King,	-	-	-	-	p. 150
19 Vpon the various events of this War, Victories and Defeats,	-	-	-	-	p. 155
20 Vpon the Reformation of the times,	-	-	-	-	p. 164
21 Vpon his Majesties Lett. taken & divulged.	-	-	-	-	p. 172
22 Vpon his Majesties leaving <i>Oxford</i> , and going to the <i>Scots</i> ,	-	-	-	-	p. 178
23 Vpon the <i>Scots</i> delivering the King to the English, and his captivity at <i>Holmby</i> ,	-	-	-	-	p. 183
24 Vpon their denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains	-	-	-	-	p. 187
25 Penitentiall Meditations and Vows in the Kings Solitude at <i>Holmby</i> ,	-	-	-	-	p. 199
26 Vpon the Armies surprizall of the King at <i>Holmby</i> , and the ensuing distrac- tions in the two Houses, &c.	-	-	-	-	p. 204
27 To the Prince of <i>Wales</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 213
28 Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of <i>Non-Addresse</i> , and his Majesties closer imprisonment, &c.	-	-	-	-	p. 232

## II.

*His Majesties Papers about Church-Government.*

1 Those that passed between his Majesty & Mr. <i>Henderson</i> , at <i>Newcastle</i> ,					
His Majesties first paper, <i>May 29. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 149
<i>Hendersons</i> first paper, <i>June 3. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 151
His Majesties second paper, <i>June 6. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 159
<i>Hendersons</i> second paper, <i>June 17. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 163
His Majesties third paper, <i>June 22. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 174
<i>Hendersons</i> third paper, <i>July 2. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 181
His Majesties fourth paper, <i>July 3. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 186
His Majesties fifth paper, <i>July 16. 1646.</i>	-	-	-	-	p. 188

**2 The Papers which passed between His Majesty and the Ministers at Newport  
in the Isle of Wight 1648.**

His Majesties first paper concerning Episc. - - - - -	p. 191
The Ministers Answer, - - - - -	p. 192
His Majesties second paper, - - - - -	p. 202
The Ministers second paper, - - - - -	p. 215
His Majesties final Answer, - - - - -	p. 251

**A Quære about Easter, propounded by His Majesty to the Parliaments Com-  
missioners at Holmby, April 23. 1647. - - - - -**

p. 286

**III.***His Majesties Prayers, with other things relating to His Majesties Death.*

1 A Prayer used by his Majesty, at his entrance iiii state into the Cathedral Church of Exeter, &c. - - - - -	p. 287
2 A Prayer drawn by his Majesties special direction and dictates for a blessing upon the Treaty at Vxbridge, - - - - -	<i>ibid.</i>
3 A Prayer drawn by his Majesties special directions for a blessing upon the Treaty at Newport, &c. - - - - -	p. 288
4 A Prayer for pardon of sin - - - - -	p. 289
5 A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction, - - - - -	p. 290
6 A Prayer in the times of imminent danger - - - - -	p. 291

*Several things relating to his Majesties Death.*

1 Four Quæres propounded by his Majesty, when the Armies Remonstrance was read unto him at Newport, concerning their intended trial of his Majesty, - - - - -	p. 292
2 His Majesties reasons against the pretended jurisdiction of the High Court of Injustice, &c. - - - - -	p. 293
3 The names of those persons, who by a pretended Commission from a few Members of the late House of Commons (acted by the Council of War) &c. - -	p. 296
4 The names of those persons, who at several times appeared and sate actually as Judges upon the King, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of death upon him. With the names of the Council and Officers that attended them, - - - - -	p. 299
5 A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, the day before his Death, - - - - -	p. 300
6 Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths owne hand, - - - - -	p. 301
7 Another Relation from the Lady Eliz. - - - - -	p. 302
8 A Copy of a Letter sent from the Prince, to the K. dated from the Hague, Ian. 23. 1648. - - - - -	p. 303
9 His Majesties last Speech on the Scaffold at his Martyrdom, Ian. 30. 1648.	p. 304

10 The Names of the Mayor and Aldermen of <i>London</i> , that proclaimed the Act against Monarchy. - - - - -	p. 309
11 A Speech made in Latine, by Dr. <i>Lotius</i> to King CHARLS the Second, in the name of the Consistory of <i>Hague</i> , and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of King CHARLS the First, 7 <i>Calend. Martii</i> , 1649. - - - - -	p. 309
12 The same in English, - - - - -	p. 312
<i>Severall Verses made by diverse persons upon His Majesties death.</i>	
1 An Epitaph upon K. CHARLS by <i>J. H.</i> - - - - -	p. 314
2 Another, - - - - -	p. 315
3 Another by <i>A. B.</i> - - - - -	<i>ibid.</i>
4 Upon the Picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair before the High Court of Injustice - - - - -	p. 316
5 Upon the Picture of his Majesty in His Blew Wastcoat,	<i>ibid.</i>
6 An Elegy by the M. of <i>Montrosse</i> ,	<i>ibid.</i>
7 A Deep Groan at the Funerall of that Incomparable and Glorious Monarch CHARLS the First, by <i>D. H. K.</i> - - - - -	p. 317

It is intended in the present volume that, by the aid of bibliography, the way may be cleared for finding out more than is already known of the birth and life of the work in question, and particulars calculated to aid this object have, therefore, been added. No enumeration of faults has been attempted, and where, for instance, the expression "paged — to —" is used, it is not intended to imply that there are no errors in the pagination. *Blank leaves* at beginning and end are mentioned just as found in the actual copies collated, but their presence or absence must not be taken to indicate a different edition. In many cases it is not difficult to see with what blank leaves an edition has been issued, but the above plan has been preferred to the adoption of assumptions. In each case the description of the edition has been composed from the first copy mentioned. Often other copies named have not the same frontispiece or blank end leaves.

In comparing any *Eikon* with the descriptions given, for the purpose of identifying the edition, it will be sufficient to find that what is stated as present is in the book under comparison, rather than to be led by finding certain additional peculiarities not noted, to arrive at the somewhat negative conclusion that the two are different.

It cannot be too clearly pointed out that the presence or absence of an illustration, except when actually printed as part of the text, does not vary the edition.

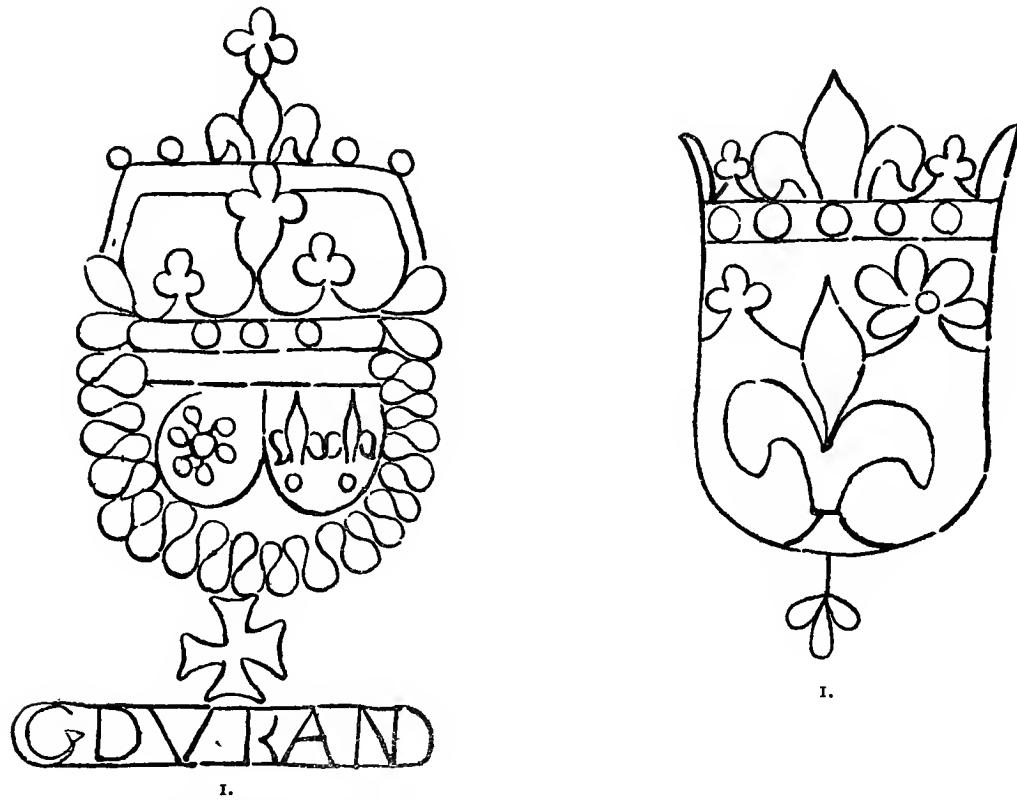
Bindings (except of editions published since 1800) have, of course, nothing to do with the edition. Bindings and ownership notes are alluded to at the foot of the descriptions, so that if the severe bibliographer will keep his nose slightly raised in gentle scorn, he can avoid seeing these baubles. In every case where the copy described does *not* belong to me, it is clearly so stated.

Mr. Davenport is disposed to credit me with discovering a new artist in the production of beautiful bindings. It would appear as if Samuel Browne probably bound the Da Costa copy of the *Imago Regis* (see binding illustrations) and a copy of the "*Electra of Sophocles*: Presented to Her Highnesse the Lady Elizabeth . . . . By C. W. [Christopher Wase] at the Hague, for Sam. Brown, MDCXLIX." These two books are as beautiful specimens of binding as could be desired. They were no doubt bound at the Hague, the former for Charles II., the latter for his sister, the Princess Elizabeth. In all the seventy miles of book-shelves at the British Museum there is no book bound like unto these two little old relics of the most pathetic page in Britain's history.

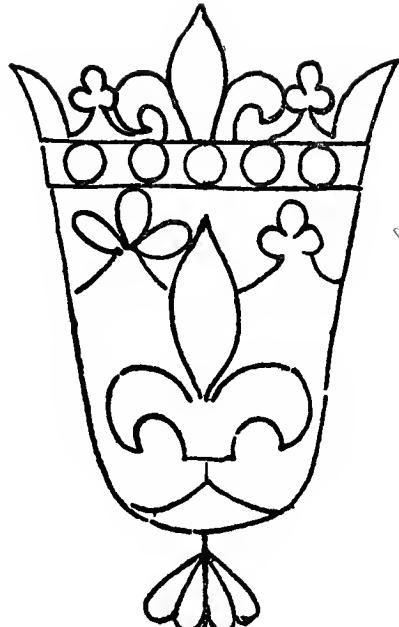
I have been most careful to describe specially bound copies, since these are much to the point as illustrating the intense interest which the *Eikon* evoked. It has been handed down by tradition to this day, that copies with the royal crown and "C. R." on the covers were royal presentation copies to devoted cavaliers. A very interesting feature in many of the bindings is that these books are to this moment wearing mourning for Charles the First, in a still more literal sense than General Wolfe's old regiment, with their black facings, continued year after year to mourn the fall of their beloved commander, on the heights of Abraham. Hardly any two of these bindings are alike. In *John Inglesant*, Vol. I., chap. 15, it is written, "Thousands of copies of the King's Book, edged with black, were sold in London within a few days following his death." An early *Eikon* has recently come into my possession, which is bound in very

old and worn black velvet, with the crown and "C. R." on the covers. Nothing would be more natural than that someone should obtain a scrap of the material used at the execution or funeral, and cover an *Eikon* with it. (A small piece of the black velvet pall was, we know, cut off, before the rest of it was placed in the coffin.)

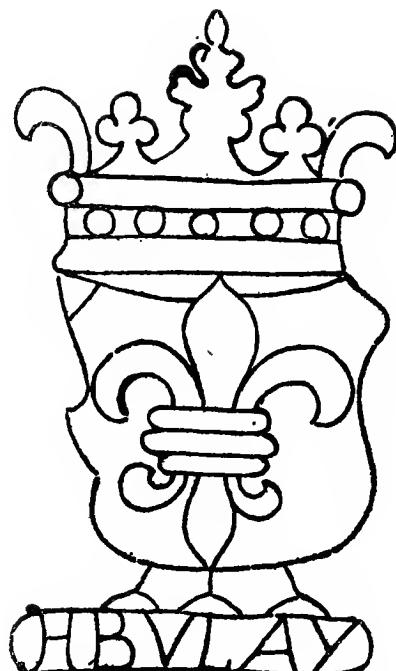
Not even to limit the study to a question of printing, some watermarks have been traced and reproduced. The number under each marks



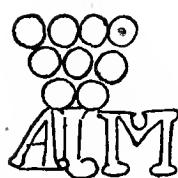
the edition of the *Eikon* from which they were taken. Nos. 43 and 44 are from old end-leaves in copies of those editions; the "cardinal's hat" being also found in the three-quarters-face "Guil: Marshall delineata: et sculpsit" frontispiece with explanation at foot, which is in many copies of this set of editions. It is also in the oval portrait of Charles the First in the "Marmaduke Cooke" copy, No. 43.



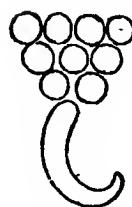
2.



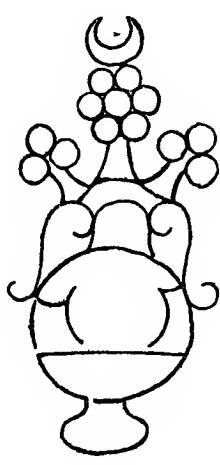
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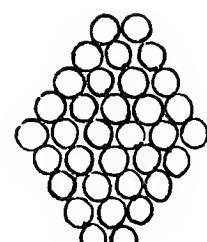
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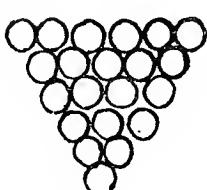
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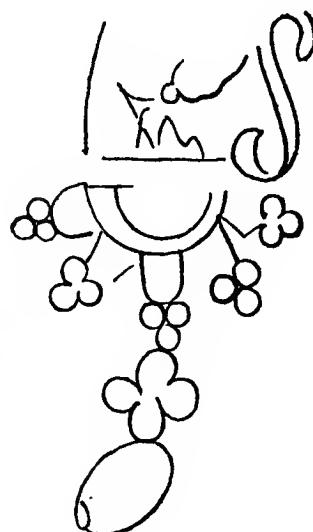
42.



43.



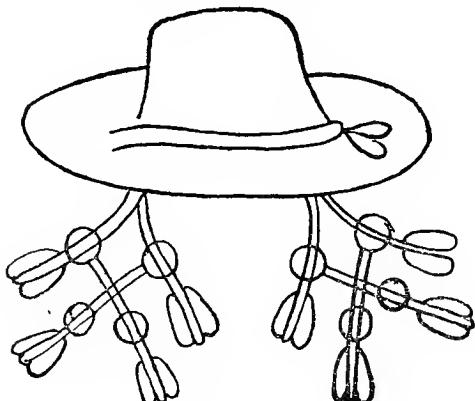
44.



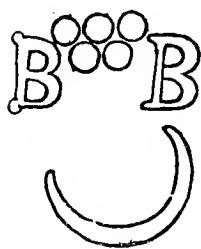
43.

REPRODUCTIONS OF WATER-MARKS.

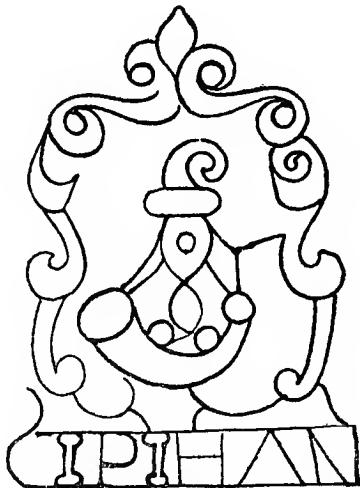
*Eikon* No. 7 has a water-mark which is nearly, if not quite, the same as Nos. 43 and 44. In the *Archæologia* (Vol. XII) will be found "Observations on Paper-Marks: By the Rev. Samuel Denne, F.A.S., in a Letter to Mr. Gough." Under the date 1649, Mr. Denne has given the "cardinal's hat" water-mark. The literature of this subject is very slight, and I have learned nothing to our purpose from *Briguet*; but Miss E. E. Thoyts has written interesting articles on "Water-Marks," in *The Antiquary* of November and December, 1895, with the promise of more to follow.



43.



43.



44.



44.

Granted a desire to own a copy of a certain edition, the first object is that the book be "perfect;" the second, that it be in contemporary binding. Not only has the original binding often been interesting in itself, but its removal almost invariably indicates the destruction of the personal history of the copy. Even should there have been no names, dates, prices, or remarks, the book will probably have been cut down and end-leaves removed.

At Windsor Castle are some precious *Eikons* (*see* Nos. 15, 42, and 44), affectionately guarded by our reigning Queen, the descendant of Charles the First. Victoria, our Queen, *is* a Stuart.

I have not followed an interesting writer, and discussed the *smell* of books. To me, all *Eikons* are as fragrant as the breath of the sweet *mimosa* growing upon the hills of Trinidad.

The result of examining many *Eikons*, including one hundred and twenty of my own, is to prove that the reputed number of editions appearing within a few months of the King's death was by no means an exaggeration. Not unnaturally has it been conjectured that many different editions—making up the traditional fifty editions—were only separated by a very slight alteration, not showing any appreciable thought or labour involved in the production; but the result of comparisons is to put aside this idea. Also, in the matter of how quickly the early editions came out, the result of examination is to show that even some, which were dated 1649, really appeared several weeks before March 25th following the King's execution. At that period the year was by some held to begin on March 25th, and by others on January 1st. The story that the King's Book was in the hands of the people immediately the fatal axe had fallen is strongly confirmed. The copy which I discovered as distinctly preceding the "February 9th" copy (*see* description of *Eikon* No. 2) was not an isolated instance, various other copies agreeing with it having since come to light. I think about fifty editions came forth in the first six months. In October, Royston was bound over in £500 not to offend further. How he must have laughed in his sleeve! The stable door was indeed shut too late.

I own that I am not ready to write a definition of an edition, but I count that at least twenty-four editions were printed before March 25th, 1649,\* and another twenty before the end of the year, all these forty-four editions being in English. In 1649 there were also three in Latin, four in French, one in German, and two in Dutch. This makes fifty-four editions in the first year. It was again printed at least eight times before 1800, and no less than six times in the present century. These figures added together

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\* *See Addenda* for a note about another edition.

make sixty-eight editions, and they are described in this work in the order of the dates they bear, and translations are put after English editions of the same date. A few editions have turned up which were not mentioned by Wagstaffe, and on the other hand, some mentioned by him have not yet come to light.

Some people cannot read a book in which what cousin Jonathan calls the "almighty dollar" is not so much as named. I must, then, tell the man who thinks to buy and sell old volumes, as he would deal in sausages, that copies of the *Eikon* have been bought for fifteen pence, and copies have been bought for fifteen pounds. Further, I have known, in the course of a year or so, one and the same ordinary copy to be bought from a bookseller for ten shillings, sold to another bookseller for five pounds, picked up again from a third bookseller by the first buyer for again the same sum, ten shillings, and then a second time sold by him for five pounds.

The number of books distinctly *upon* the *Eikon* that have been counted, including different editions, amounts to forty-five, and a list of such works, in the order of the year of publication, is here appended, together with fac-simile Title pages of a few of them. It will be observed that some of these works are more elaborately described than others, the reason for this being that in such cases I was able to lend the printer a copy for reference.

"*Il Davide Perseguitato* | DAVID | Persecuted. | Written in Italian | By | The Marquesse Virgilio | Malvezzi: | And done into English | BY | ROBERT ASHLEY | GENT. | LONDON. | Printed for Humphrey Moseley, at | the signe of the Princes Armes | in St. Pauls Church-Yard. | 1647." 163 pp.

This and one or two others have only a slight connection with the subject.

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"HIS | MAJESTIES | DECLARATION | To all His Loving subjects in His | Kingdome of England and | Dominion of Wales. | Published with the advice of his | Privie Councell. | Dated in Castle-Elizabeth in the Isle of | Jersey, the 31. day of October 1649. | . . . . | Hage, | Printed by Samuel Broun English | Bookseller, Dwelling in the Achter-Om | at the Signe of the English Printing house, | anno M.DC.XLIX." 7 pp.

The first edition of Milton's *Eikonoklastes*. Preface, 5 leaves, unpaged. Text, 242 pp. (See fac-simile Title page No. 1, reproduced from a copy kindly lent me by Messrs. Pickering and Chatto, Haymarket.) The first, fifth, tenth, seventeenth, and twenty-third lines of the Title page are printed in red. London, 1649. B.M. e. 578. (5.)

I.

EIKONOKΛΑΣΤΗΣ  
In Γαννη  
Anfwer  
To a Book Intitl'd  
ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ,  
THE  
PORTRATURE of his Sacred MAJESTY  
in his Solitudes and Sufferings.

The Author I. Milton.

PROV. 28. 15, 16, 17.

15. As a roaring Lyon, and a ranging Beare; so is a wicked Ruler over the poor people.

16. The Prince that wanteth understanding, is also a great oppressor; but he that hateth covetousnesse shall prolong his dayes.

17. A man that doth violence to the blood of any person, shall fly to the pit, let no man stay him.

Snlust. Conjurat. Catilin.

Regium imperium, quod initio, conservanda libertatis, atque augenda reipub. causâ fuerat, in superbiam, dominationemque se convertit.

Regibus boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt; semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est.

Quidlibet impunè facere, hoc scilicet regium est.

Published by Authority.

London, Printed by Matthew Simmons, next dore to the gilded Lyon in Aldergate street. 1649.

"THE PRINCELY PELICAN. | royll resolves | Presented in sundry | choice observations | Extracted from His Majesty's | Divine Meditations. | With Satisfactory Reasons to the whole King. | dom, that his Sacred Person was the | only Author of them. | Epictet. in Enchirid. | Subditis regere, Regibus subjici! Quid iniquius? | Printed Anno Dom. 1649." 52 pp. B. M. 599. c. 21.

"KING CHARLES HIS FAREWELL, left as a legacy to his deare children; written a little before his death. (Being the King's address to his son, chapter 27 of the *Eikon Basilike.*) . . . . . With his prayers in the time of his troubles. (Also a copie of a letter from the prince, &c.)" 2 parts. London, 1649. 12mo. B. M. E. 1410. (2.)  
(Another edition.)—"THE KINGLY MYRROUR, or King Charles his last legacy to the Prince his son: written a little before his death, &c." London, 1649. 12mo. B. M. E. 1317. (5.)

(Another edition.)—"KING CHARLES TO THE PRINCE OF WALES. Contained in Vol. 3 of *Illustrations of the Liturgy, &c.*" By the Rev. J. Brogden, Vicar of Deddington. 1842. 12mo. B. M. 1219. g. 6.

"ΕΙΚΩΝ Α'ΛΗΘΙΝΗ. | THE | POVRTRAITVRE | of | Truths most sacred Majesty truly | suffering, though not solely. . . . . 1649." In fours. Text pp. 1-103. (See fac-simile Title page No. 2.)

"ΕΙΚΩΝ Η ΠΙΣΤΗ. | OR, | The faithfull Pourtraicture of a Loyall | Subject, in Vindication | of | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. . . . . M.DC.XLIX." In fours. Text pp. 1-96. (See fac-simile Title page No. 3.) [This and the foregoing work are bound together in one volume.]

"ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ. | in | answer | to a Book Intitl'd | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, | the | Portraiture of his sacred Majesty | in his Solitudes and Sufferings. | The Author J. M. | . . . . Publish'd now the second time, and much enlarg'd. | London, Printed by T. N., and are to be sold by Tho. Brewster | and G. Moule at the three Bibles in Pauls Church-Yard | near the West-end, 1650." Text 230 pp. B. M. 599 e. 18. (1.)

On August 13th, 1660, a proclamation went forth, "For calling in and suppressing of two books written by John Milton: the one entitled *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam*; and the other in answer to a book entitled the *Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings.*"

"ΕΙΚΩΝ ΑΚΛΑΣΤΟΣ | the | image | vnbroaken. | A Perspective of the Impudence, Falshood, Va- | nitie, and Prophanies, Published | in a Libell entitled | ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ against ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ | or the Pourtraicture of his sacred | majestie | in his solitudes and Sufferings. | Printed Anno Dom. 1651." By Joseph Jane. 267 pp. B. M. 599. e. (2.)

Dr. Wordsworth, after mentioning that Long attributed this tract to Dr. Earle, adds that it was vigorously suppressed, and at the Restoration put into circulation with a Dedication to Charles II., and the following new Title:—"Salmasius's Dissection and Confutation of the Diabolical Rebel Milton, in his impious Doctrines, &c., &c., against his Gracious Sovereign Charles I. made legible for the satisfaction of all loyal and obedient subjects: but by reason of the rigid inquisition after persons and presses, by the late merciless tyrant Oliver Cromwell, durst not be sold publicly in this Kingdom, under pain of imprisonment and other intolerable damages. 1660." Wordsworth adds:—"Still, I do not think that the work was Salmasius's."

2.

EIKON A'ΛΗΘΙΝΗ.  
THE  
POVRTRAITVRE

O F

Truths most sacred Majesty truly  
suffering, though not solely.

Wherin the false colours are washed off, where-  
with the Painter-Steiner had bedewed Truth, the  
late King and the Parliament, in his counterfeit  
Piece entituled Eikon Basileik.

*Published to undecerve the World.*

Εχθρὸς γέρων καῖος δμῶις Αιδαῖο πύληνον γ Homer.  
ὅς χ' ἔτερον μετ' οὐρθεὶς εἰ φρεσὶν ἀλλοὶ δὲ εἴπη Σ. 9 Iliad.

*Aditum nocendi perfido præstat fides.* Sen.

*Animaduerto enim etiam Deos ipsos, non tam accuratis adorantiam precibus, quam innocentia & sanctitate letari: gratioremq; existimari, qui delubris eorum puram, cœstamq; mentem, quam qui meditatum carmen intulerit.*  
*Plinii Panegyric.*

PROV. 12. 9.

*The lip of truth shall be established for ever; but a lying tongue  
is but for a moment.*

London printed by Thomas Paine, and are to be sold by George  
Whittington at the blew Anchor in Corn-hill. 1649.

“ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, | ou | Réponse au Livre intitulé | 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ': | ou | Le Pourtrait de sa Sacrée Majesté | durant sa Solitude & ses | Souffrances. | Par le Sr JEAN MILTON. | Traduite de l'Anglois sur la seconde | & plus ample Edition; & revûë | par le Auteur. | A laquelle sont ajoûtées diverses Pièces, | mentionnées en ladite Réponse, | pour la plus grande com- | modité du Lecteur. | A LONDRES | Par Guill. Du-Gard, Imprimeur du | Conseil d'Estat, l'an 1652. Et se vend | par Nicolas Bourne, à la porte Mé- | ridionale de la vieille Bourse.” 451 pp.

“CAROLUS I. . . . . a securi et calamo Miltonii [in his *Iconoclastes*] vindicatus [by C. B. Morisot].” 1652. 16mo. B. M. G. 1767.

“*De Juramento. | SEVEN | LECTURES | CONCERNING THE | OBLIGATION | Of | Promissory | OATHES. | Read publickly in the Divi- | nity School at OXFORD. | By ROBERT SANDERSON D.D. | His MAJESTIES Publick Professor there. | Translated into English by His late | MAJESTIES speciall Command, | and afterwards Revised and approved un- | der His MAJESTIES own hand. | London, Printed by E. C. for Humphrey Moseley, | Octavian Pulleyn, and Andrew Crook and are | to be sold at their shops in St. Pauls- | Church-yard, 1655.*” 272 pp.

“BIBLIOTHECA REGIA, | OR, THE | ROYAL LIBRARY, | CONTAINING | A Collection of such of the | PAPERS of His Late | MAIESTY | King Charls, | The second MONARCH of | GREAT BRITAIN, | As have escaped the wrack and | ruines of these times. | *Not extant in the Reliquiae Carolinæ, or the | Exact Collection of Edward Husbands. | IN TWO BOOKS. | The first relating to the concernments of the Church, | The second, unto those of the Civil State. | WITH | Some Occasional Observations for the better understanding | and coherence of some parts thereof. | LONDON, Printed for Henry Selle, at the Black Boy in | Fleet-street, over against St. Dunstans Church, 1659.*”

“SALMASIUS. His Dissection and Confutation of the Diabolical rebel Milton's book *Eikonoklastes.*” A translation published by Garfield. 4to. London, 1660.

Kindly communicated by Lord Aldenham.

“AUREA DICTA: or the gracious words of Charles I,” (4to. Oxford, 1682.) contains extracts from the *Eikon*.

Kindly communicated by Mr. Falconer Madan.

“RESTITUTION | to the | Royal Authour | or a | vindication | of | King Charls the Martyr's | most Excellent book; Intituled | 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ' | From the false, Scandalous, and Malicious Reflections lately | Published against it. | licensed, | May 10. 1691: Z. Isham. | London; Printed for Samuel Keble, at the Great Turks-Head in Fleet-street, | over against Fetter-lane-end. 1691.” 8 pp. Folio. B. M. T. 1107. (9.)

3.

ΕΙΚΩΝ Η ΠΙΣΤΗ.

OR,

The faithfull Pourtraicture of a Loyall  
Subject, in Vindication

OF

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Otherwise Intituled,

THE POURTRAICTURE

Of His SACRED

MAJESTIE,

IN HIS

SOLITUDES & SUFFERINGS.

In Answer to an insolent Book, Intituled

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΑΛΗΘΙΝΗ: whereby

occasion is taken, to handle all the contro-  
verted points relating to these times.

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*Talunur in alrum;  
Ut lapsu graviore ruunt.*

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Eccle. 4. 1. 2. So I considered all the oppressions that are done under the Sun, and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter: and on the side of their oppressours there was power: but they had no comforter.

Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead, more then the living which are yet alive.

Eccle. 5. 8. If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgement and justice in a Province, marvell not at the matter: for he that is bigger then the nighest, regardeth, and there be bigger then they.

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Printed in the Year, M.DC XLIX.

"A | LETTER | from | General Ludlow | to | Dr. Hollingworth, | . . . . . Amsterdam,  
Printed Anno Dom. 1691." 72 pp.

"DR. HOLLINGWORTH'S | Defence | of | K. Charles the First's Holy and | Divine Book,  
called | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ; | Against the Rude and Undutiful Assaults of | the late  
Dr. Walker, of Essex. | proving | By Living and Unquestionable | Evidences, the  
aforesaid Book to be that | Royal Martyr's, and not Dr. Gauden's. | London . . . 1692."  
27 pp. B. M. E. 1970. (10.)

"DR. WALKER'S True account of the Authour of a Book, entituled, *Eikon Basilike*, or  
the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings, proved to be  
written by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Worcester." 1692. 4to.

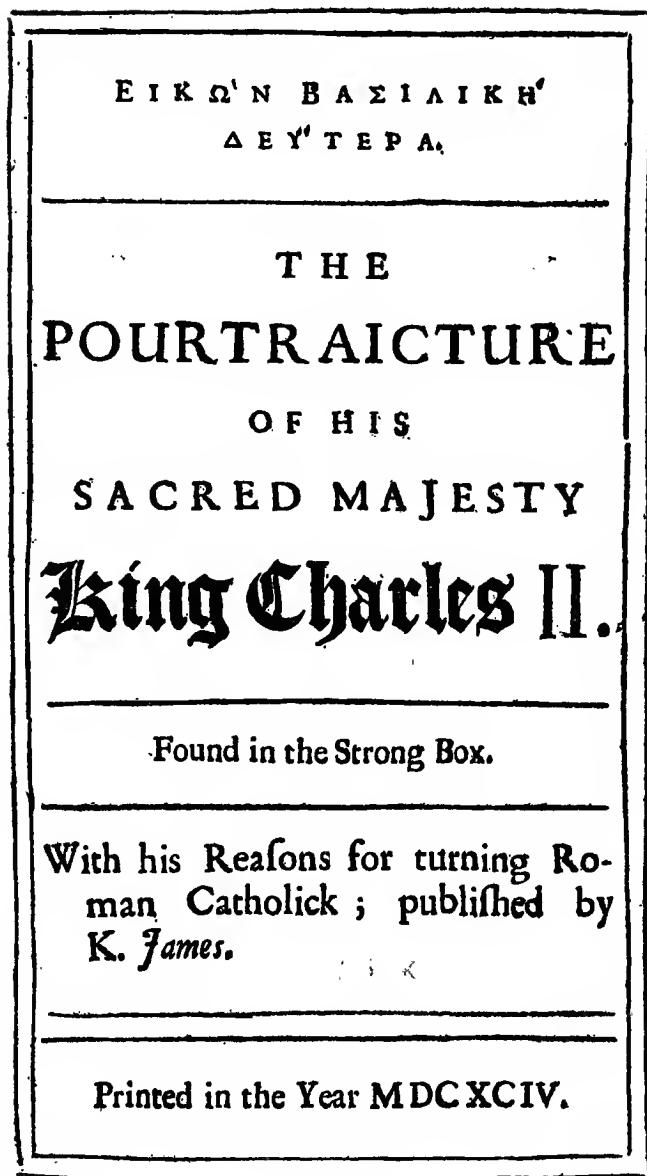
"A TRUE | ACCOUNT | of the | Author of a Book entituled | *Eikon Basilike* | or . . . . .  
with | An Answer to all Objections made by Dr. Hollingworth | and others, . . . . . |  
. . . . . London, | . . . . . 1692." 37 pp., in fours. B. M. E. 1971. (1.)

"VINDICIAE CAROLINÆ: OR, A | DEFENCE | OF | 'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ', | THE | Portraiture  
of his Sacred Majesty | in his Solitudes and Sufferings. | IN | REPLY | To a BOOK  
Intituled | 'ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ, | Written by Mr. Milton, and lately | Reprinted at Amsterdam. | Vere magnum habere fragilitatem homi- | nis, securitatem Dei. Seneca. | London, Printed  
by J. L. for Luke Meredith, | at the Angel, in Amen-Corner, MDCXCI." (By J. Wilson,  
author of a *Treatise of Monarchy*.) 144 pp., in eights. B. M. 599. c. 25.

"THE | CHARACTER | OF | King Charles I. | From the Declaration of | MR. ALEXANDER  
HENDERSON, | (Principal Minister of the Word of God at Edinburgh, and | Chief Com-  
missioner from the Kirk of Scotland, to the | Parliament and Synod of England) | Upon his  
DEATH-BED: | WITH | A Further DEFENCE of the | KING's Holy Book. | To which is  
Annex'd | Some Short Remarks upon a Vile Book, call'd, | Ludlow no Liar: | With a Defence  
of the KING from the | Irish Rebellion. | By Rich. Hollingworth, D.D. | London Printed,  
and are to be Sold by R. Tayler by Amen-Corner, 1692." 28 pp., in fours. Dedication  
("To the Right Honourable | THE | MARCHIONESS of Carmarthen.") 5 leaves, not paged.

"Ludlow no Liar, | Or a Detection of | Dr. HOLLINGWORTH'S Disingenuity | IN HIS | Second  
DEFENCE | OF | King Charles I. | AND | A further Vindication of the Parlia- | ment of the  
3d of Novemb. 1640. | With Exact Copies of the Pope's Letter to K. Charles | the First, and  
of his Answer to the Pope. | In a Letter from General Ludlow, to Dr. Hollingworth. |  
TOGETHER | With a Reply to the false and malicious Asserti- | ons in the Doctor's lewd  
Pamphlet, Entituled, *His | Defence of the King's Holy and Divine BOOK, against | the  
rude and undutiful Assaults of the late Dr. Walker of Essex. | AMSTERDAM*, Printed  
1692." 63 pp. (really two pages less, as the numbering jumps from p. 52 to p. 55), in  
fours. Dedication ("To Mr. Luke Milbourn Minister of Great-Yarmouth, | and Assistant  
to Dr. Hollingworth in his migh- | ty Under-takings.") pp. iii-xx.

4.



"A | DEFENCE | OF | King Charles I. | Occasion'd by the | LYES and SCANDALS | OF | Many BAD MEN of this AGE. | By RICHARD HOLLINGWORTH, D.D. | Their Majesties Chaplain, at St. Botolph Aldgate, London. | IMPRIMATUR. | Z. Isham, R.P.D. Hen. | Episc. Lond. à Sacris. | December 16. | 1691. | London: Printed for Samuel Eddowes, under the Piazza of the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1692." 36 pp., in fours.

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"A SECOND | DEFENCE | OF | King Charles I. | BY | Way of Reply to an *Infamous Libel*, | CALLED, | LUDLOW's LETTER | to Dr. Hollingworth. | Let the lying lips be put to silence, which cruelly, disdainfully, | and despitefully speak against the righteous. Psal. 31. | As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, | 1 Pet. 2. | LONDON: | Printed for S. Eddowes, under the Piazza's of the Royal Exchange; and are to be Sold by Randal | Taylor, near Stationers-Hall. 1692." 53 pp., in fours. Dedication, 3 leaves, not paged.

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"THE PLAIN DEALER. An Essay on Mr. Long and on Dr. Hollingworth's Defence of the King's Holy Book." 4to. London, 1692.

Kindly communicated by Lord Aldenham.

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"Dr. Walker's | True, Modest, and Faithful | ACCOUNT | OF THE | Author of 'EIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, | Strictly Examined, and Demonstrated | TO BE | False, Impudent, and Deceitful. | In Two PARTS, | The first disproving it to be Dr. Gauden's. The second | proving it to be King CHARLES the First's. | By THOMAS LONG, B.D. | and Prebendary of St. PETER's EXON. | His Majesty's Meditation on his Letters taken and divulged after Nase- | by Fight: *The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary Preparation to the taking away my Life and my Kingdoms; first I must seem neither fit to live, nor worthy to reign: By exquisite Methods of Cunning and Cruelty I must be compelled first to follow the Funerals of my Honour, and then be destroyed.* | Matth. 18. 16. Take with thee one or two witnesses more, that in the mouth of two or three every word may be established. | IMPRIMATUR, | Sept. 22, 1692. | Guil. Lancaster, R.P.D. Henrico E-|pisc. Lon. à Sacris Domesticis. | London: Printed and are to be sold by R. Talor, near Stationers-Hall, 1693." 57 pp., in fours. Dedication i-ii; Preface i-iv. B. M. 701. h. 10. (6.)

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"TRUTH BROUGHT TO LIGHT: | or the | gross forgeries | Of Dr. Hollingworth, | In his Pamphlet Intituled, *The Character of King Charles the First*, from the Declaration | of Mr. Alexander Henderson, &c. | detected. | Being a vindication of Mr. Henderson and Dr. Walker, from the Aldgate | Chaplain's vile Scandals. | To which is annex'd, A manifest Proof that Dr. Gauden | (not King Charles I.) was the author of *Icon Basili*- | lice, by a late happy Discovery of his Original Pa- | pers upon that Occasion. | In a Letter from Lieut.-General Ludlow | to Dr. Hollingworth. | . . . . . London, Printed in the Year 1693." 40 pp. B. M. 701. h. 10. (5.)

FIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ:  
 OR, THE  
**PICTURE**  
 OF THE  
 Late King James

Drawn to the LIFE.

In which is made manifest, That the whole Course of his Life hath to this day been a continued Conspiracy against the Protestant Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Three Kingdoms.

*In a Letter to Himself*

And humbly Dedicated to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, WILLIAM the Third, Our Deliverer and Restorer.

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By *TITUS OATES, D. D.*

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*L O N D O N:*

Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Oxford-Arms Inn in Warwick-Lane. M DC XC VI.

"THE | DEATH | OF | KING CHARLES I. | Proved a Down-right | murder, | With the Aggravations of it. | in a | sermon | at | St. Botolph Aldgate, London, | January 30. 169<sup>2</sup>. | To which are Added, some just Reflections | upon some late Papers, concerning that | King's Book. | By Rich. Hollingworth, D.D. | London, | Printed by R. Norton for Walter Kettily, at the | Bishop's Head in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1693." 8 leaves of introductory matter, and text of sermon 24 pp. The text taken is Matthew xix, 18, "Jesus said, thou shalt do no murder."

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"ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ' | ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ. | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF HIS | SACRED MAJESTY | King Charles II. . . . M DC XCIV." 320 pp., in eights. (See facsimile Title page No. 4.)

"ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ: | OR, THE | PICTURE | OF THE | Late King James | Drawn to the LIFE. . . . M DC XC VI." 118 pp., in fours. Dedicatory Epistle to William III., 25 leaves, not paged. (See fac-simile Title page No. 5.)

"ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ: | OR, THE | PICTURE | OF THE | Late King James | Further drawn to the LIFE. . . . M.DC.XCVII." 147 pp., in fours. Dedication to William III., 1 page. (See fac-simile Title page No. 6.)

This and the preceding part are bound in one volume, belonging to Mr. W. S. Lewendon.

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"A | VINDICATION | OF | King CHARLES the Martyr, | Proving that | His MAJESTY | WAS THE | AUTHOR | OF | E<sup>\*</sup>ΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'. | Against a | MEMORANDVM, | Said to be Written by | The EARL of ANGLESEY: | AND | Against the EXCEPTIONS of | Dr. Walker, and Others. | The Second Edition, with Additions. | Imprimatur. | Junii 8. 1693. | CHARLES HERON. | LONDON: | Printed for H. Hindmarsh, at the Golden- | Ball over against the Royal Exchange. 1697." By Thomas Wagstaffe. B.M. 1101. c.

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"AMYNTOR: | OR, A | DEFENCE | OF | Milton's Life. | CONTAINING | I. A general Apology for all Writings of that kind. | II. A Catalogue of Books attributed in the Primitive | Times to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles and other | eminent Persons: With several important Remarks | and Observations relating to the Canon of Scripture. | III. A Complete History of the Book, Entitul'd, *Icon Basilike*, proving Dr. GAUDEN, and not King | CHARLES the First, to be the Author of it: With | an Answer to all the Facts alledg'd by Mr. WAG- | STAF to the contrary; and to the Exceptions | made against my Lord ANGLESEY's *Memorandum*, | Dr. WALKER's Book, or Mrs. GAUDEN's Nar- | rative, which last Piece is now the first Time pub- | lish'd at large. | *Di quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque Silentes, Et Chaos, & Phlegethon, Loca Nocte tacentia late, Sit mihi fas audita loqui; Sit numine vestro, Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas.* Virg. AEn. 6. | London, Printed, and are to be Sold by the Book- | sellers of London and Westminster. M. DC. XC. IX." By John Toland.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ:  
 OR, THE  
**PICTURE**  
 OF THE  
**Late King James**

Further drawn to the LIFE.

In which is made manifest by several ARTICLES,  
 That the whole Course of his Life hath been  
 a continued Conspiracy against the *Protestant*  
*Religion, Laws and Liberties* of the Three  
 Kingdoms.

In a Letter to Himself.

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P A R T   II.

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By *TITUS OATES, D. D.*

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*L O N D O N,*

Printed by J. D. to be sold by *Richard Baldwin*, near the Oxford-  
 Arms Inn in *Warwick-Lane*. M.DC.XCVII.

"A DEFENCE of the *Vindication of K. Charles the Martyr*; justifying his Majesty's title to *Eikon Basilike*; in answer to a late pamphlet (by J. Toland) intituled *Amyntor*. By the author of the *Vindication* (T. Wagstaffe)." London, 1699. 4to. 96 pp. B.M. E. 1976. (8.)

"VINDICATION OF THE ROYAL MARTYR from . . . . Irish Massacre 1641. . . . . cast upon him in the life of Richard Baxter. . . . . Letter to a member of House of Commons." 4to. London, 1702.

Kindly communicated by Lord Aldenham.

"THE | Secret History | OF THE | Calves-head Club: | OR, THE | Republican Unmask'd. | WITH | A large Continuation, and an APPENDIX | to the HISTORY. | Wherein is fully shewn, The Religion of the Calves- | Head Heroes, in their Anniversary Thanksgiving- | Songs on the xxxth of January, by them called | ANTHEMS, With Reflections thereupon. | The Seventh Edition, with large Improvements; | and a Description of the Calves-head Club, and the | Effigies of Oliver Cromwel and his Cabinet Coun- | cil; curiously engrav'd on Copper Plates. | To which is annex'd, a Vindication of the Royal | MARTYR, King CHARLES the First. Wherein are | laid open, the Republicans Mysteries of Rebellion. Written | in the Time of the Usurpation, by the Celebrated Mr. Butler, | Author of *Hudibras*. | With a Character of a Presbyterian, written by Sir John Denham, Knight; And the Character of a | Modern Whig; or, The Republican in Fashion. | LONDON Printed, and Sold by B. Bragge, at the Raven in | Pater-noster-Row. 1709."

At the annual meetings of the Calves-head Club, on January 30th, it was usual to burn a copy, or copies, of the King's Book. The frontispiece to the above-mentioned book is called "A Description of the Calve's Head Club," and the Devil is the only individual who looks "quite at home."

"A | VINDICATION | OF | K. Charles the Martyr: | PROVING THAT | His Majesty was the Author | OF | \*ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'. | AGAINST A | MEMORANDVM, | Said to be written by the Earl of Anglesey. | AND, | Against the Exceptions of Dr. Walker and others. | To which is added a Preface, | Wherein the Bold and Insolent Assertions published in | a Passage of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary, relating to the | present Controversy are Examined and Confuted. | The Third Edition, with large Additions; together with some | Original Letters of King CHARLES the First under his own | Hand, never before Printed, and. faithfully copied from the | said Originals. | That Pious King and Blessed Martyr was too often thus used,—His | Declarations were denied to be his, tho' asserted, framed, penned by | himself: His Book denied to be his, tho' none cou'd pen it but himself: | He was deny'd to have declared what he did constantly profess, to have | written what he wrote, to have spoken what he spake; and at last sure | some will deny him to have suffered what he endured. Bishop Pearson in | Answer to Dr. Burges. | LONDON: Printed for R. Wilkin at the King's-Head in St. Paul's | Church Yard, 1711." By Thomas Wagstaffe. 163 pp., in fours. Preface, iii-xl. B.M. 1093. c. 127.

On the last leaf, in a list of "Books lately Printed for Richard Wilkin, at the King's-Head in St. Paul's Church-Yard," is "Several Evidences which have not yet appeared in the Controversy concerning the Author of *EIKON BASILIKE*; produced in a Letter to the Reverend Mr. Wagstaffe. By J. Y. of Plymouth."

"KING CHARLES I. vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of forgery, and a gross imposition on the public. To the whole is subjoined the judgement of several . . . . authors concerning Milton's political writings." (By W. Lander.) London, 1754. 8vo. 64 pp. B.M. 1093. e. 42.

"ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ. | In Answer to a Book Intitled, | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, | . . . . By John Milton. | Now first published from the Author's Second Edition, Printed in 1650: | with many enlargements: By richard baron. | with | A Preface shewing the transcendent Excellency of Milton's Prose Works. | To which is added, | An Original Letter to Milton, never before published. . . . . London | Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand. | MDCCLVI." 4to. 96 pp. B.M. 599. i. 14.

Masson, IV., p. 247. *Note*.—"In nearly all editions of Milton's prose works to this day, the reprint of the *Eikonoklastes* is merely from the first, or 1649, edition. In 1756 Richard Baron published a reprint of the second, or 1650, edition. In Bohn's edition the enlarged version is given."

(MILTON's) "ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΤΗΣ. | IN ANSWER TO A BOOK INTITLED, | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, | The PORTRAITURE of his SACRED MAJESTY | in his Solitudes and Sufferings. | A NEW EDITION, | Corrected by the late Reverend RICHARD BARON. | PROV. xxviii. 15. As a roaring lion and a ranging bear, | so is a wicked ruler over the people. | 16. The prince that wanteth understanding, is also a | great oppressor; but he that hateth covetousness, shall | prolong his days. | 17. A man that doth violence to the blood of any person, | shall fly to the pit, let no man stay him. | LONDON : | Printed for G. KEARSLY, at No. I. in Ludgate-street. | M.DCC.LXX." 294 pp., in eights. Editor's Preface, etc., 5 leaves, not paged.

"WHO WROTE ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?' | CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED, | IN TWO LETTERS, | ADDRESSED TO HIS GRACE | THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. | BY THE REV. | CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. | MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, | AND RECTOR OF BUXTED WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX. | LONDON : | JOHN MURRAY, | ALBEMARLE STREET. | 1824." 413 pp., in eights. B.M. 599. g. 27.

"A | LETTER | TO HIS GRACE THE | ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, | CONCERNING THE AUTHORSHIP OF | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | BY | THE REV. HENRY JOHN TODD, M.A., F.S.A., &c. | CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, | AND RECTOR OF SETTRINGTON, COUNTY OF YORK. | 'There has been a great deal of disputing about this Book: some are so | zealous in maintaining it to be the King's, that they think a man false to the | Church that doubts it to be his.' | *Bishop Burnet, Hist. of his Own Time.* | LONDON : | C. & J. RIVINGTON, | ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND WATERLOO-PLACE. | 1825." 168 pp., in eights. B.M. 599. e. (2.)

This work contains the Gauden Letters, which had already been printed thrice:—First, in Dr. Maty's *Review*, September, 1782 (Vol. II., pp. 253-62); then in the Appendix to *The Clarendon State Papers*, 1786; and thirdly, in *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Bishop Walton*, 1821, by the Rev. Henry John Todd (Vol. I., pp. 138-47). Mr. Todd had been Manuscript Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"DOCUMENTARY SUPPLEMENT | TO | 'WHO WROTE ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?' |  
INCLUDING | RECENTLY DISCOVERED LETTERS AND PAPERS | OF | LORD CHANCELLOR  
HYDE, | AND OF THE | GAUDEN FAMILY. | BY THE REV. | CHRISTOPHER  
WORDSWORTH, D.D. | MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND | RECTOR  
OF BUXTED WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX. | LONDON: | JOHN MURRAY, | ALBEMARLE  
STREET. | 1825."

The "QUARTERLY REVIEW" for October, 1825, contains an article (pp. 467-505) on Dr. Wordsworth's *Who wrote ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?* and *The Supplement to "Who wrote ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?"*

The "EDINBURGH REVIEW" for June, 1826 (pp. 1-47), contains an article upon the *Eikon Basilike* by Sir James Mackintosh, which was reprinted in his collected writings.

"A | LETTER TO A FRIEND, | TOUCHING THE QUESTION | 'WHO WAS THE  
AUTHOR | OF | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?' | BY | WILLIAM GRANT BROUGHTON,  
M.A. | CURATE OF HARTLEY WESPALL, HANTS. | LONDON: | PRINTED FOR  
C. & J. RIVINGTON, | ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD; WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL; |  
AND 148, STRAND. | AND ALSO FOR C. KNIGHT, PALL-MALL, EAST. | 1826." 92 pp.,  
in eights.

"KING CHARLES THE FIRST, | THE AUTHOR | OF | *Icon Basilike*, | FURTHER PROVED,  
IN | A LETTER | TO HIS GRACE | THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, |  
*IN REPLY TO THE OBJECTIONS* | OF | DR. LINGARD, MR. TODD, |  
MR. BROUGHTON, THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, | AND MR. HALLAM. |  
BY | CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D. | MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE; | AND RECTOR OF BUXTED WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX. | CAMBRIDGE: | Printed  
by J. Smith, Printer to the University. | JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON. |  
M.DCCC.XXVIII." 256 pp., in fours. B. M. 599. e. 17.

"ADDITIONAL REASONS in confirmation of the opinion that Dr. Gauden, and not King Charles, was the author of *Eikon Basilike*. By W. G. Broughton, Bishop of Sydney." 8vo. 1829.

"BISHOP GAUDEN | the | author of *Icon Basilike*, | further shewn | in answer  
to the recent remarks | of the | Rev. Dr. wordsworth | upon a publication of  
the present writer addressed to the | late archbishop of canterbury concerning  
the | authorship of the *icon*. | by | the rev. henry john todd, m.a. &c. |  
chaplain in ordinary to his majesty, | and rector of settrington, county of york. |  
london: printed for c. j. g. & f. rivington, | . . . . . 1829." 8vo.  
72 pp. B. M. 599. e. (2.)

"CHIPS FROM THE ROYAL IMAGE, Being fragments of the *Eikon Basilike* . . . . arranged by A. E. M. Anderson Morshead. Edited by Charlotte M. Yonge. London, J. Masters & Co. 1887." Preface 9 leaves. Text 48 pp. B.M. 4400. ee. 16. In the last part of the Preface, Miss Yonge, after writing of King David, goes on:—

"There is another exception, another king, who tried to do his best, erred, sorrowed, wavered here, stood fast there, struggled, sank, and suffered. His private record has been given to the world, bearing his dying sanction. The touching beauty of it, the depth of the reflections, the fervour of the ejaculations, have been scarcely noticed, because of the controversy on the authorship. With that we are not concerned. We do not want to marshal the evidence one way or the other, nor even to ask the readers to question the possibility of such aspirations being the work of a forger. All we do wish is to show many who may be the better for them, some gems of tender thought, and penitence, so beautiful and heart-searching in themselves, that we cannot but think they will be loved and prized."

Mr. FALCONER MADAN'S ingenious schedule for comparing spelling variations, etc., in editions of *Eikon Basilike* will be found as a folding plate in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*.

I have avoided distracting attention from the twenty-eight chapters of the *Eikon* by refraining from discussing the origin of verses, mottoes, and other matter sometimes contained in the same volume. It would not have been difficult to fill twice the number of pages.

Some of my sentences are probably too curt, but I have felt that a nineteenth century reader abhors long arguments, and that a bibliographer should be only the signpost pointing the way to smooth pastures and happy hunting grounds. Still, these labours bring their own reward. Lovers of old-world writings are a genial race, and I have never, except when shaving, met a con-trAry-minded bookworm.

I now give some of the Evidences of the King's authorship of the *Eikon*, and then the main grounds of Gauden's claim. Gauden's curate (Walker) and a few more kindred spirits joined in advocating his cause, but contributed nothing which they might not easily have learnt from the claimant himself. Moreover, Walker blundered sadly, as he swore that two chapters were not written by Gauden, and the latter solemnly declared that he wrote every line of the book. Following these extracts are—Wagstaffe's List of Editions of the *Eikon*; the License granted to Richard Royston by Charles II.; Royston's Dedication to Charles II.; Richard Perrin chief's "To the Reader"; the verses entitled "Majesty in Misery," ascribed to Charles I.; and then, preceding my brief last words, Mr. Scott's valuable Preface to the latest edition of *Eikon Basiliike*.

## EVIDENCES FOR THE KING.

The battle of Naseby was fought on June 14th, 1645, and that date may fairly be taken as a starting point for beginning the authentic history of the King's Book. In the *Princely Pelican*, published in 1649 (*see* list of works relating to the *Eikon*, p. 74), it was expressly affirmed that:—

Upon the Discomfiture of his Majesty's Forces, amongst other rich Prizes this inestimable gem, the continuation of his Divine Meditations was seized by the Enemy, being inclosed in a Cabinet. That such was the Benignity of the Conqueror, or the Divine Providence rather, it was recovered and returned to His Majesty's hand, and which infinitely cheered him.

The author writes of himself as "having been for many years a constant servant to his Majesty's sacred person; and to whom his Majesty was oftentimes pleased to communicate his private councils and addresses;" that "he remained constantly in his attendance on his Majesty, even to the last man, when they were all expressly enjoined to be removed from their gracious Master."

In the same year (1649) the author of ΕΙΚΩΝ Η ΠΙΣΤΗ (*see* list of works relating to the *Eikon* on p. 74, and fac-simile Title page No. 3) wrote:—

There are some in the Army that know it to be true enough, and some have been converted by it, before ever it was published, or the King had never had it again, after it was lost at the Battle of Naseby.

Dr. George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's (*see* p. 74 of Wordsworth's *Who Wrote Eikon Basilike*), says:—

That about the year 1656, while he was Vicar of St. Georges near Bristol, he had frequent conversation with Dr. Gorge, who told him, that being chaplain to King Charles, and in his Army, at the fatal Battle of Naseby, he was employed after that defeat by His Majesty, to retrieve certain papers lost in his cabinet, in which some private thoughts, and Meditations of that good King were set down; the loss of which troubled him more than all the other papers of his which fell into his enemies' hands, that day. It was with some difficulty, that they were obtained from the Conqueror, but, restored they were; and Dr. Gorge said he found they were the same, as to the matters preceding that dismal day, with those printed in *Eikon Basilike*.

In 1648, the great Clarendon himself wrote, in his *Full answer to the Parliament's Declaration of No more addresses* (p. 150):—

After their opening his breast, and examining his most reserved thoughts, by searching his cabinets, perusing his letters, even those he had written in cypher, to his dearest consort, the Queen, and his private memorials, they have not been able to fix a crime or error upon him.

William Sanderson, in his *Life and Reign of King Charles* (p. 524), printed in 1658, wrote:—

This Book whilst in loose Papers, and secured in his Cabinet, was seized by the Enemy at Naseby Fight but these Papers happily rescued, and so came to his Majesty's hands again, who in the end commended them to his faithful servant Mr. Simmons, with command to see them printed.

In October, 1645, a few months after the battle of Naseby, the King made a forced journey from Newark to Oxford. His guide in this journey was Dr. Rhodes, the Incumbent of Haughton and Thorpe, near Newark, a steady loyalist, and much confided in and beloved by the King.

This Dr. Rhodes we are assured (both by Dr. Hollingworth and Mr. Wagstaffe) on the joint authority of his widow, and of his son, repeatedly declared, in their hearing, that having been with the King from the time of leaving Newark, to his going to the Isle of Wight, where likewise he attended him, he had, at several times and in several places, seen and read those parts of the King's book which he then drew up, written with the King's own hand.

*Heath's Chronicle*, first published in 1663. The scene referred to is the seizure of the King by cornet Joyce at Holdenby:—

His Majesty concluded. I have these questions to put to you, which if you grant I will go with you. First, That he might have no violence offered to his person. To which they altogether shouted and cried None! None! Secondly, He desired that his trunks and papers might not be rifled and tumbled. (Here were parcels of his *Icon Basilike*, and some other choice pieces, as was known since they promised to set a guard upon them, and that they should not be touched.) Thirdly, he required such servants to attend him against whom there were no just exceptions.

The King reached Hampton Court on August 26th, and whilst there, according to an account given by Dr. Hollingworth, the King consulted Bishop Juxon about the arranging of the parts of his manuscript in a proper order, and, at Juxon's suggestion, Sir John Brattle and his son sate up several nights with the King to put the book in order.

On November 11th, 1647, the King fled from Hampton Court. Colonel Hammond, in whose custody the King spent so many dreary months in Carisbrooke Castle, more than once declared his knowledge of the *Eikon Basiliæ* being the King's work (Wagstaffe's *Vindication*, p. 100), thus:—

Nay, I must do him the right to say, that the book was undoubtedly his; for, when I had the order for viewing and searching his papers, I found amongst them many sheets of the rough draught of that book in his own hand-writing, which I have at this time by me.

And on another occasion, Hammond related:—

Part of that book if not the whole, was writ when he was my prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, where I am sure he had nothing but a Bible, pen, ink and paper, and going to call him out of his closet to dinner which I always did, I found him still a-writing; and staying behind to see what he writ, the paper being still wet with ink I read at several times most of that book.

In Hollingworth's *Defence of Eikon Basiliæ* (p. 22), and Wagstaffe's *Vindication* (p. 98), are accounts of a Captain Wade, in the Parliament army, who, upon reading some of these meditations which he had seen the King writing, was so touched by the tenour of them that he gave up his commission, being resolved that he would no longer be such a Prince's gaoler.

Another evidence is that of Mr. Reading, who attended the King by order of Parliament, in the place of some of his servants whom they had dismissed. He told Colonel Prodger and others, as quoted by Wagstaffe:—

That he did admire the King for his wonderful parts, and that he had often seen him writing several parts of the *Eikon Basiliæ*, and when he was tired with writing, he would sit down, or walk about the room, and dictate to him whom he desired to write for him, and he added that such expressions fell from him, and with so much ease and readiness, that to use his own words, it made his hair stand on end, in admiration, to hear him.

The following statements of Levet, the King's faithful Page of the Bedchamber, are very interesting. The first is taken from the original, then in the possession of his son, a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford (Hollingworth, p. 8):—

If any one has a desire to know the true author of a book, entitled *Eikon Basiliæ*, I, one of the servants of King Charles the First, in his bed chamber, do declare, when his

said Majesty was prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that I read over the above mentioned book, (which was long before the said book was printed) in his bed-chamber, writ with his Majesty's own hand, with several interlinings.

I can testify also, that Royston the printer told me, that he was imprisoned by Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, because he would not declare that King Charles the First was not the author of the said Book.

Signed and sealed October 16, 1690.

WILLIAM LEVET.

The foregoing seems to belong to the Carisbrooke Castle period, and the following, which was written to Seymour Bourman, Esq., Lincoln's Inn Fields, to the time of the Treaty at Newport :—

Dear Brother,

I waited on his Majesty, as page of the bedchamber in ordinary, during all the time of his solitudes, (except when I was forced from him). And specially being nominated by his Majesty to be one of his servants, among others, that should attend him during the treaty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, I had the happiness to read the same oftentimes in manuscript, under His Majesty's own hand, being pleased to leave it in the window in his own Bed-chamber, where I was always obliged to attend his Majesty's coming thither.

Levet then, describing the King's arrest, says, in reference to the *Eikon*.—

During the time of His Majesty's making himself ready, he concerned himself only how to secure this book of his, and a small cabinet, wherein he secured his letters to his Queen, who was then beyond the sea. And his Majesty having procured a pass for me from the said Governor, that I should wait on him there, he gave me in charge this said Book, and small cabinet, which I faithfully presented to his Majesty's own hands that night in Hurst Castle. But the Governor, by what information is too tedious to insert here, at this time, and therefore I omit it, did on Saturday banish me out of the Castle.

I should have sent you a relation, which I had of Royston the King's Printer, for the printing of the said book, by His Majesty's special command, brought to him by a Divine, but not to be printed till after the King's death, which he observed accordingly. For which Cromwell sent for him to Whitehall, not only promising rewards, but also threatening punishments, if he would not deny that he printed it by his Majesty's order. Which he refusing to do, did imprison him for about a fortnight; but seeing he could not work upon him, released him. Which is all at present from

Your affectionate brother to serve you,

From Sevark Park, near Marlborough,

WILLIAM LEVER.

April 29th, 1691.

To John Holme, an apothecary who attended Levet in an illness (Wagstaffe, p. 87):—

This report is altogether base, false, and scandalous; neither can I imagine how any foundation for this report can be made, even by the basest and wickedest of men; for that I myself very often saw the King, write that which was printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand, in many sheets of paper: and seldom that I did read it, but tears came from me: and I do truly believe, that there is not a page in that book, but what I have read under the King's own hand, before it was printed.

And this saying of Mr. Levet, I John Holme shall be ready to testify upon oath when there shall be occasion.

JOHN HOLME.

May 22, 1699.

The following passage from Dr. Hollingworth relates to the printing of the book:—

I went to Mr. Thomas Milbourn, printer, just by Jewen St. and enquiring of him what he knew of King Charles's book, he told me, That in the year 1648 he was apprentice to Mr. John Grisman, a printer, at which time Mr. Symmons, by Mr. Royston, sent the King's book to be printed, and that his master did print it, and that Mr. Symmons always had the name of sending it to the Press: and that it came to them, as from the King; and they understood it no other ways: and that they had printed several other things with C. R. to them: and that it looked to them like the same hand, and the same sort of paper, with others that were so marked, and looked upon as the King's papers, for the King (as all Kings no doubt do) kept the originals by him: and Mr. Oudart the Secretary, transcribed them.

Which after I writ down, I read to him, and he, before witness, declared to be true. But, withal he informed me, that there was one Mr. Clifford, belonging to the Church of St. Paul's, and Reader of Prayers at Serjeants' Inn in Fleet Street, that assisted him in composing and correcting the aforesaid book, who could give me a further account of the things.

I, James Clifford, do, upon my knowledge, declare to Dr. Hollingworth, that I was an actuary in several things published by King Charles, particularly the letters between him and Mr. Alexander Henderson, who endeavoured to seduce the King to favour the Presbyterian Government. And, that there was a man of known fidelity, Mr. Symmons by name, chaplain to the then Prince of Wales, who was employed by the King to take care of his book, because he had writ the *Vindication of the King* so well. And that the King had entitled his book *The Royal Plea*: but Dr. Jeremiah Taylor coming accidentally into Mr. Royston's shop, he having a great and assured confidence in him, showed him the first proof from the Press; which, when the Doctor viewed under that title, he told him the title would betray the book. Whereupon Dr. Taylor did undertake to write a letter to his Majesty, to let him know it would be in danger to be suppressed for the title's sake; there being, as he understood, two crafty informers, by name Cheltenham and Jones, who would understand the book by the title.

And therefore he thought *Eikon Basilike* would be a better title, and the less taken notice of by the informers, being Greek; and withal, it agreeing with the title of his father's book called *Basilikon Doron* upon which letter the King immediately consented to the alteration of the title, as Dr. Taylor proposed.

And withal, I do declare, that the King, for fear the original should miscarry, ordered Mr. Oudart, Secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas, Principal Secretary of State, to transcribe it; and lodged the original in the Lord Marquess of Hertford's own hands; and by the copy of Mr. Oudart, Mr. Milbourn and myself (it being the way of livelihood I took to, being turned out of Magdalen College in Oxford, for my loyalty), did print the said book. After the printing of which, a great part was seized in Mr. Symmons lodgings; and he though in a shepherds habit, was so far discovered, as that he was pursued into Great Carter Lane, by the rebels; where he took refuge, and the bloody villains fired two pistols at him, which frightened him upstairs; and out of the garret window he made his escape over the houses.

And I do further say, that I never heard, nay, that I am sure, that Dr. Gauden never was concerned in that book, by which Mr. Milbourn and myself printed it; and that he had no part of the copy from Dr. Walker: for, it was that transcribed by the aforesaid Mr. Oudart, we printed it by.

Teste

JAC. CLIFFORD.

In the Presence of

LUKE MILBOURN, Clerk.

MARGARET HOLLINGWORTH.

That Mr. Oudart had transcribed the *Eikon* is confirmed by the following certificate of Sir Philip Warwick's amanuensis, afterwards schoolmaster at Amesbury (p. 9 of Hollingworth's *Henderson's Character of King Charles*):—

I Robert Hearne, formerly servant to Sir Philip Warwick, do attest that I have often heard my said Master, Sir Philip Warwick, as likewise Mr. Oudart, and Mr. Whitaker declare, that they had transcribed copies of the late King Charles 1st's own copy of his book entitled *Icon Basilike*, written with his said Majesty's own hand in the presence of

ROBERT HEARNE.

From the ΕΙΚΩΝ Ἡ ΠΙΣΤΗ (see list of works relating to the *Eikon*, p. 74, and fac-simile Title page No. 3):—

It is impossible but that the King was admirably good, if we read him in that book: therefore there is a necessity that the book should be none of his: and there is no talk where there is a necessity. Otherwise, the author might have informed himself of divers who have seen the original copy manuscibed by the King himself. He might have seen it himself, for asking. He might have heard thousands, who would have taken their oaths

upon it, and thousands who would have justified it with their lives. He might have observed as much as all the world observed, that it was the King's own, by the Sovereign stile, which was unimitable, which was as easy to be known from other stiles as was his face from other faces ; it being impossible that either face or stile should counterfeit the majesty of either. But, necessity must be obeyed. (Page 4.)

Again, still more forcibly, referring jointly to the pretences of the adversary, and to the frontispiece, beforementioned :—

I do not allow that a Doctor made the King's book : you are to prove it. Why did you not ? Why did not the hand that drew the curtain, lay hold on him ? I take it to be the King's book. I am sure of it. I knew his hand. I have seen the manuscript. I have heard him own it. The world believes it. What do you say ? There was a man within a mile of an oak, I name nobody, that made the book. Is this a sufficient ground for a living dog to trample upon a dead lion ? (Page 8.)

Dr. Christopher Wordsworth gives good reasons for attributing the authorship of the foregoing work to Endymion Porter (*see* p. 65 of *Who Wrote Eikon Basilike*).

Dr. Wordsworth, at p. 89 of *Who Wrote Eikon Basilike*, quotes from Hollingworth :—

. . . . . the testimony of the learned Dr. Robert Hall, son of the famous Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, who was treasurer of the Church of St. Peter's, Exeter, to whom the Major was near related by his marriage, and with whom he sojourned sometime at Clisthidon, the doctor's benefice. This Rev. Dr. Hall hath told me and others, that Major Huntington, waiting on his Majesty, at Holmby, assured him, that he had seen the King writing some of those papers, which the major had opportunity to read ; and knew, that such as he did then read, were the same as are now printed. To this of Dr. Hall, I add that of Richard Duke, Esq., and justice of the peace in Devonshire, who lately declared to me, and another judicious divine, that he heard the major affirm the same, almost in the same words :

" And Sir William Courtney, a person of great honour, as I am credibly informed, when this relation was read or told to him, as Dr. Walker reported it, was pleased immediately to say, that he well knew the Major, and had heard him aver the like report, as Mr. Duke and others have declared.'

Dr. Hollingworth relates (p. 21 of his *Defence*) :—

That a Non-conforming Minister told him, that Major Huntington told him with his own mouth that he procured some papers, that made up part of this royal book, from the hands of Fairfax, the Parliament General, which were taken after Naseby fight, and kept by the Lord Fairfax ; and that afterwards the said major presented them to the King with his own hand.

Dr. Hollingworth adds:—

I spare the man's name for particular reasons: but if I am called to it, I will depose to the truth of his saying so, upon oath.

Mr. Long communicates the following testimony:—

I do hereby certify, that I dining with Bishop Lamplugh, at his Palace in Exeter, some years since, there happening some discourse concerning King Charles the First's *Icon Basilike*, and some said there was a doubt made, Whether the said King were the author of the said book or no? I told the Company then at the table, that I had heard from several persons of good credit, many years ago, that one Major Huntington did affirm, that after Naseby fight he took that King's cabinet, wherein several Meditations of the said book were, written with his own hand; and that he afterwards delivered them into the King's own hands, which he received with very much joy, and gave him many thanks for restoring them to him.

And I do further certify, that one Richard Duke, of Otterton, in the County of Devon, Esq., being then at the Bishop's table, did positively affirm, that what I had reported concerning Major Huntington was true, he knowing well the said Major, and having heard him, with his own mouth, affirming to him, that what I have above set down was true. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 18th day of July 1692.

WILLIAM READ, Archdeacon of Sarum.

This is confirmed by the Rev. Mr. Cave Beck, Ipswich, Suffolk (*see p. 27, Dr. Hollingworth's Character of Charles I.*), in these words:—

That some years after the King's trial, Major Huntington, at Ipswich, assured me, that so much of his Majesty's book, as contained his Meditations before Naseby fight, was taken in the King's cabinet, and that Sir Thomas Fairfax delivered the said papers unto him, and ordered him to carry them to the King. And the major affirmed, that he read them over before he delivered them, and that they were the same for matter and form with those Meditations in the printed book; and that he was much affected with them, and from that time became a proselyte to the royal cause. He also told me, that when he delivered them to the King, his Majesty appeared very joyful, and said, he esteemed them more than all the jewels he had lost in the cabinet. *Dr. Walker's True Account, Strictly Examined.* By Thomas Long, B.D., and Prebendary of St. Peter's, Exeter. 1693. 4to. Page 36. (*See list of works relating to the Eikon, p. 80.*)

This part of the question has been considered at great length by Mr. Wagstaffe, in his *Vindication of King Charles the First*, and from him I derive the following additional testimonies:—

The next I shall mention, is of Sir Paul Whichcott, who saith, that he hath often heard his father, Sir Jeremy Whichcott tell, that he had the *Icon Basilike* sometime in his hands, lent him by Major Huntington, and that he transcribed about seventeen chapters, as he would have done the whole, had not the major been in haste to restore it to the King.

This, Sir Paul attested to the Rev. Dr. Colbatch, Casuistical Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, August 13th, 1709; and the Rev. Mr. Echard the worthy and deservedly celebrated author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and several other excellent books, sometime after at London, shewed what Dr. Colbatch had written to Sir Paul Whichcott, and which he approved of without any alteration; and I thankfully own the favor the said Mr. Echard did me in communicating the same to me. Sir Paul is now living, frequently in London, and when in the country his seat is at Qui, near Cambridge. And if any person applies himself to Sir Paul, he will be willing to give him satisfaction. This is, indeed, a very ample and home testimony, and irrefragably confirms Major Huntington's testimony; and besides that, it is an undeniable proof of the authority and genuineness of the book itself; for Sir Jeremy had it in his custody, read it, and transcribed a great part of it.

The same, also, Major Huntington, told to Mr. Rowney, of Oxford, the major's special friend and acquaintance, attested by Dr. Byrom Eaton D.D. and principal of Gloucester Hall, in Oxford, and which I have now by me, under the hand of the said Dr. Eaton, and in the presence of Mr. Thomas Becousal B.D. of Brazenose College, Oxford, wherein the doctor testifies from his late friend Mr. Rowney, father to the present member of parliament of that name, what he had from the mouth of Major Huntington, that the King solicited him to obtain his papers, taken in his cabinet at Naseby, from General Fairfax; that the major undertook it, went in person to the General, and obtained them: and in his return he had the curiosity to read a good part of them, and was highly pleased with them: that the King received them with infinite satisfaction and respect: and that upon the publishing the *ICON*, he declared, that he remembered several passages in the said papers, and did believe both to be the same, and the King's own book. This bears date at Oxford, May 12, 1699. P. 72.

#### EVIDENCES FOR GAUDEN.

The following extract is from a letter from Gauden to Clarendon (the whole letter will be found on p. 106), dated from Exeter, January 21, 1660 (*i.e.*, 1660-1):—

True, I once presumed your Lordship had fully known the Arcanum; for so Dr. Morley told me, at the King's first coming, when he assured me the greatness of that service was such, that I might have any preferment I desired. This consciousness of your Lordship, (as I supposed), and Dr. Morley, made me confident my affairs would be carried on to some proportion of what I had done, and he thought, deserved. Hence my silence of it to your Lordship. As to the King and Duke of York, whom, before I came away, I acquainted with it, when I saw myself not so much considered, in my present disposure, as I did hope I should have been; what sense their Royal goodness hath of it is best to be expressed by themselves; nor do I doubt but I shall, by your Lordship's favor, find the fruits as to something extraordinary, since the service was so. Not as to what was known to the world

under my name, in order to vindicate the Crown and Church, but what goes under the late blessed King's name, the *Eikon Basile* or Portraiture of his Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings. This book and figure was wholly and only my invention, making, and design, in order to vindicate the King's wisdom, honor, and piety. My wife, indeed, was conscious of it, and had a hand in disguising the letters of that copy which I sent to the King in the Isle of Wight, by the favour of the late Marquis of Hertford, which was delivered to the King by the now Bishop of Winchester. His Majesty graciously accepted, owned, and adopted it as his sense and genius; not only with great approbation, but admiration. He kept it with him; and though his cruel murtherers went on to perfect his martyrdom, yet God preserved and prospered this book, to revive his honor, and redeem his Majesty's name from that grave of contempt and abhorrence, or infamy in which they aimed to bury him.

#### MRS. GAUDEN'S NARRATIVE.

My husband understanding the great value and esteem the people had of Cromwell and of others in the Army, occasioned by the high opinion which they had of their parts and piety; he being also well assured that one of the main designs of those wicked politicians was to eclipse his Majesty that then was, as much as might be, and to give a false misrepresentation of him to the world; he, that he might do his Majesty right, did pen that book which goes by the name of the King's Book. The title which he gave it then was *Suspiria Regalia*; and the design was to have it put forth as by some person who had found the papers in his Majesty's chambers at Holmby, being by chance left or scattered there. And to this purpose he had prefixed an epistle, which might be supposed to be written by that person, who having found them by that accident thought it not fit to conceal them. His design also in the book was to give such a character of her Majesty to the world, as her great worth, extreme merits, and admirable endowments deserved.

When my husband had writ it, he shewed it to my Lord Capel, who did very highly approve of it; and though he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he said it was not fit to do so, without his Majesty's approbation. And to come to speak to his Majesty in private was then impossible, in regard to the strict guard which they kept about him.

Immediately after this there was a treaty with his Majesty at the Isle of Wight, whereupon my husband went to my Lord Marquiss of Hertford that then was, and to him delivered the manuscript, and he delivered it to the King at the Isle of Wight, and also told him who the author was.

When my Lord Marquiss returned, my husband went to him; to whom my Lord said, that his Majesty having had some of the essays read to him by Bishop Duppa, did exceedingly approve of them, and asked whether they could not be put out in some other name. The Bishop replied, that the design was, that the world should take them to be his Majesty's. Whereupon, his Majesty desired time to consider of it; and "This" (says my Lord) "is all the account I can give of it." What is become of the manuscript I know not;

and what will become of his Majesty God knows. Upon this my husband told my Lord Marquiss, that, in his opinion, there was no way so probable to save his Majesty's life, as by endeavouring to move the hearts and affections of the people, as much as might be towards him; and that he also thought that that book would be very effectual for that purpose. Then my Lord bade my husband do what he would, in regard the case was desperate. Then immediately my husband resolved to print it with all speed that might be, he having a copy of that which he sent to the King; and that he printed was just the same; only he then added the essay upon their denying his Majesty the attendance of his chaplains, and the Meditation of Death, after the votes of the non-addresses, and his Majesty's close imprisonment at Carisbrook Castle.

Now the instrument that my husband employed to get it printed, was one Mr. Symmonds, a divine, and a great sufferer for his Majesty; and he got one Mr. Royston to print it; which Royston never knew anything but that it was of his Majesty's own penning. My husband did then alter the title of it, and called it *Icon Basilike*. Now, when it was about half printed, they who were in power found the press where it was printing, and likewise a letter of my husband's, which he sent up to the press. Whereupon they destroyed all that they then found printed, but could not find out from whence the letter came, in regard it had no name to it. Notwithstanding all this, my husband attempted the printing of it again; but could by no means get it finished, till some few days after his Majesty was destroyed.

When it was come out, they who were then in power were not only extremely displeased at it, but also infinitely solicitous to find out the author of it, thinking it very improbable that his Majesty should write it, in regard of the great disturbances and troubles which for many years he had suffered; or, at least, impossible that he should have writ it at all: for, after the attendance of his chaplains was denied him, and he a close prisoner, they well understood, that he could not write anything without their discovery. They also took that very manuscript which my husband had sent his Majesty, and saw that it was none of his Majesty's handwriting. Upon this they appointed a Committee to examine the business; of which my husband having notice, he went privately in the night away from his own house, to Sir John Wentworths, who lived near Yarmouth, and him he acquainted with the business, and the great danger he was then in, when Sir John did not only promise to conceal him, but also to convey him out of England, it being in his power to give passes to go beyond sea. About this time Mr. Symmonds was taken in a disguise; but God in his providence so ordered it that he sickened immediately, and died before he came to his examination, nor could the Committee find out anything, by any means whatever; which altered my husband's resolution of going out of England. Now, besides these circumstances, to assert the truth of what I say, I can produce some letters, which I am sure will put it out of all dispute.

My husband continued at Bocking till the return of his Majesty, King Charles the Second, and, upon his restoration, knowing his princely disposition, did, not unjustly, expect a suitable reward for his endeavours to serve his Majesty's father, and himself, in that book.

And meeting with Dr. Morley, he fell into discourse how sensible he was of the great service which he had done his present Majesty and the Royal family, in composing and setting forth that excellent piece, called the King's Book: and also assured him, that it had been very effectual, not only at home, but abroad, to move the hearts and affections of people towards his Majesty; instancing in several persons who were most exceedingly affected by it; and so advantageous he said it had been to his Majesty, that, according to his great merit, he might have what preferment he desired. Dr. Morley also told him, that he had acquainted Sir Edward Hyde with the business, and that he did very much commend and admire it. But we have not, said he, acquainted his Majesty with it; but did assure him, that his Majesty did set a high value upon the book, and had commanded Dr. Earle to translate it into Latin, some having taken the pains to put it into other languages before.

My husband being encouraged by these discourses of Dr. Morley's, and shortly after meeting with Dr. Sheldon, (who he knew was not ignorant that he was the only author of the forementioned book,) he told Dr. Sheldon, that since he had been informed that his Majesty, out of his princely disposition, would, without doubt, when once acquainted with it, regard that service which he had endeavoured to do his father and himself; he thought it most convenient for himself, and that he might be serviceable to his Majesty to make him Bishop of that See. Dr. Sheldon was pleased, with a great deal of gravity to tell him, that was a great leap at first. Whereupon my husband desisted, and was resolved to leave his preferment to God's dispose. Soon after this, the King being still ignorant of what he had done, he was, by the mediation of a person perfectly ignorant of his merit as to this matter, made Bishop of Exeter; all the considerable Bishopricks being otherwise disposed of. Not long after this, it pleased God to visit my husband with an infirmity, which he had great cause to fear would, as it did, prove mortal to him. This made him resolve to acquaint the King with the whole matter; and the rather, because he saw some persons who were privy of it, desired nothing more than to have it concealed, and buried in oblivion. But my husband was not willing it should be so, in regard he had at that time four sons living; and they, (he thought) if he should die, might be capable of his Majesty's favor. Besides, the Duke of Somerset was dead, and the Bishop of Winchester, the person who was best able to attest it, was very ill. These considerations made him go to his Majesty; and having the opportunity of discoursing privately with him, he told him the whole matter, as I have related it; and for the truth of it, appealed to Dr. Dupper, then Bishop of Winchester, and formerly his Majesty's tutor. The King then was pleased to entertain some discourse with my husband about it, and said that he did often wonder how his father should have gotten time and privacy enough in his troubles to compose so excellent a piece, and written with so much learning.

*Dr. Walker's True Account of the Author of a Book, entitled ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ', etc. (see list of works relating to the Eikon, p. 78), states:—*

I know, and believe the book, whose author is enquired after, was written by Dr. Gauden, (except two chapters written by Bishop Dupper,) so far as the subjoined means may produce such knowledge, and the reasons may induce such belief.

First, Dr. Gauden, some time before the whole was finished, was pleased to acquaint me with his design, and shewed me the heads of divers chapters, and some of the discourses, written of them; and after some time spent in perusal, he vouchsafed to ask my opinion concerning it: and after some consideration, according to the freedom he gave me to speak my thoughts, I told him I supposed it would be much for the King's reputation, honor and safety: but I expressly added, I stuck at the lawfulness of it; and modestly asked him, how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the world? To which he so readily replied; 'tis the Portraiture, &c. and no man draws his own picture; which satisfied himself; and though we might argue it a little, did at present silence me, my heart being so inclinable to what was the scope of the whole. And I perfectly remember, that in the second chapter, which is of the death of the Earl of Strafford, there being these words, which now in the printed work, of the first edition, are page 8, line 18, 19, 20, He only hath been least vexed by them, who counselled me not to consent against the vote of my own conscience, he told me whom he meant by that passage, viz.—the then Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, which, though most readers understand now, after it hath been so long spoken of, yet many then did not, of which number I was, my age rendering me less acquainted with the characters of great men.

Secondly, some good time after what had passed, as is related in the preceding paragraph, we being both in London, and having dined together, Dr. Gauden, in the afternoon, desired me to walk with him to a friend. When we were gone part of the way, he told me he was going to the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Dupper, (whom he had acquainted with his design,) to fetch what he had left with his Lordship to be perused; or to shew him what he had further written. And, as we drew near his house, he desired me after a little general conversation, I would withdraw and leave them two alone, which accordingly I did; and when they had been some considerable time together, he came forth and we returned. As soon as we were in the street, he gave me this account of their conference.

My Lord of Salisbury told me, there were two subjects more he wished I had thought on, and propounded them to me, viz.—the Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book; and the Denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains, (which are now the 16th and 24th chapters in the printed book,) and desired me to write two chapters upon them, which I promised I would. But, before we parted, he recalled that request, and said I pray go you on to finish what remains, and leave these two to me, and others whom he had made privy to the whole; and never pretended to have written these, as he did all the rest.

Thirdly, Dr. Gauden some time after the King was murdered, upon my asking him, whether he (the King) had ever seen the book, gave me this answer: I know it certainly no more than you, but I used my best endeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the Marquess of Hertford, when he went to the treaty at the Isle of Wight, and intreated his Lordship, if he could obtain any private opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty,

and humbly desire to know his Majesty's pleasure concerning it. But the violence which threatened the King hastening so fast, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it. For, when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it, but enquiry.

Fourthly, I once asked him, (for we seldom were in private, but somewhat was discoursed of this book, even to the last time I saw him, after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester Elect,) whether that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote it? he gave me this answer: I cannot positively and certainly say that he doth, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me. But I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it as a seasonable and acceptable service; and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth.

Fifthly, Mrs. Gauden, his wife, Mr. Gifford, (who transcribed a copy of it, if I be not much mistaken, and which copy I think was sent to the Isle of Wight, though in this I am not so positive,) and myself believed it as much as we could believe anything; and when we spake of it in his presence, or in his absence, did it without the least doubt of his having written it; being as much assured of it, as it was possible we could be of any matter of fact. And it was unaccountably strange, that all we, who had the best reason, and fairest opportunities to know the truth, should all be deceived or imposed upon, which we were, to the highest degree imaginable, if Dr. Gauden wrote it not.

Sixthly, Dr. Gauden delivered to me with his own hand what was last sent up, after part was printed, (or at least in Mr. Royston's hand, to be printed,) and after he had shewed it to me, and sealed it up, gave me strict caution with what wariness to carry and deliver it: and according to his direction, I delivered it, Saturday, December 23, 1648, in the evening, to one Peacock, (brother to Dr. Gauden's steward or baliff, some time before deceased), who was instructed by what hands he should transmit it to Mr. Royston; and, in the same method, a few days after the impression was finished, I received six books, by the hand of Peacock, as an acknowledgment of that little I had contributed to that service, one of which I have still by me.

*Extract from STATE PAPERS*

COLLECTED BY EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.

*VOLUME III.—APPENDIX.*

*The BISHOP of EXETER (GAUDEN) to the LORD CHANCELLOR.*

*My Lord,*

HAVING made a tedious and chargeable journey to Exeter, and having beene received with very great favour and respect from the gentry and people of all sorts; yet to my infinite regret, I find my feares verified, that it is noe preferment, but a banishment of mee, not only from my country, freinds and acquaintance, but from all kind of happiness, which I formerly enjoyed with great content in a most elegant competency, as to estate, dwelling and reputation. Now, to my horror, I find myself condemned to all

degrees of infelicity, by the distresses of that condition to which I am exposed. Here is noe house yet free to receive mee as Bishop; yf it were free, yet it is soe horribly confused and unhandsome, that it seemes a prison, rather than a palace; unless I will bee soe foolish, as to lay out a vast sum of money to make it fit for mee; and when this is done (that I may with more splendor bee undone) there is not a revenew competent to keep house, with any honor and hospitality. I find it most certaine (which I at first told your Lordship) that the revenew is short of 600*l.* per ann. and this soe broken with the incumberances of purchasers, that neyther rent nor fines are expectable for a long time, in any such proportion as can support mee. So that, in good earnest, (my Lord) unless I had the art of living like a camelion, by the ayre of good words, I conclude myself destroyed, with all mine, by this my most unhappy engagement to bee Bishop of Exeter; which, if I had ambitiously sought, my ruine had been less to bee pittied by others, and more digestible by myselfe. But your Lordship knowes how much I deprecate this hard fate, which I feared and foresaw. I desired but a competency to serve God, the King, and the Church with cherefulnes. Here I find nothing but indigence, charg, distresse, distraction, and an expectation never to bee satisfied in others, as to my ample living; not performed by mee without utter ruine of mee, and ruine of my little fortune and family. This is the burthen which I foresee and find (with other charges, to which I have beene and must bee still put, upon this unhappy account) will be intollarable for mee. I make this complaint to your Lordship, because you cheifely put mee upon this adventure. Your Lordship commanded mee to trust in your favor for an honorable maintenance, and some such additional support as might supply the defects of the Bishoprick. Yf this may not bee had, I must not returne againe to Exeter, unlesse I will be in love with beggery and contempt. I have not soe little sense of my relations as to sacrifice them with myselfe upon the high place of Episcopall honor. Nor am I soe unconscious to the service I have done to the Church, and hys Majesty's family, as to beare with patience such a ruine most undeservedly put upon mee. Are these the effects of his liberall expressions, who told mee I might have what I would desire? I was too modest and ingenuous, therefore I must here perish among strangers. But I will rather renownce all this empty honor and cruell employ. Nor doe I despaire but hys Majesty will be soe gracious as to give mee leave to lead a private life, for in this publique conspicuity I cannot serve hym or the Church, unlesse I have what becomes my place and genius. All the favour I crave of the King and your Lordship is, that yf there be noe way for to set mee a floate and keep mee from coming a ground, and soe shipwrecking as Bishop of Exceter, yet I may at least bee restored to my parsonage at Bocking, there to end my dayes in privacy, yea obscurity; which is a thousand times more tolerable than indigent honor. For my past credulity, folly, and expenses, I must beare them as well as I can. I shall ever be able so far to vindicate myselfe as to let the world see, that I deserved eyther not to have been made a Bishop against my will, or to be entertained in that office to my content. But I find noe regard is had of mee, which makes mee thus to represent to your Lordship the prospect of my unhappy affairs at present. Yf the King and your Lordship doe not think mee worthy of a

support befitting this station, I beseech you give mee leave to degrade myselfe, and resigne the honor, yea the burthen, which I cannot beare, nor can my nearest relation, whose happines is dearer to mee than my owne. I must not see her soule sink under the just apprehension shee hath of being miserable, because mine. Her pious, loyall, and generous spirit is too conscious to what I have done, both knowne and unknowne to the world (in order to buoy up the honor of the Royall Family, the Church and Episcopacy) to beare with any temper the streights to which she sees mee, herselfe and her children exposed. I will run upon any rock (short of sin) rather than see her perish, who hath deserved of mee beyond all the world. Yf your Lordship will not concerne yourselfe in my affaires (who can easily find wayes to ease them, and by your repeated expressions invited me to repose myselfe on your care of my content) I must make my last complaint to the King; and yf his Majesty have noe regard for mee, but leaves me to deplore and perish, as neyther a considerable enemye nor friend, I will yet retire to God and my owne conscience, where I have the treasure of those thoughts, which I am sure every one cannot owne, who think themselves soe much worthyer than myselfe, whom they joy to see thus driven upon a banished and beggerly condition, while themselves swim with plenty. There needs some Commendam of 400*l.* per an. at least to be added to the revenew of Exceter; nor will this make mee live soe well as I did before. I moved your Lordship once for the Savoy, which I presume the Bishop of London will not keep, nor would I desire yf I were so well provided for as hee is. Yf nothing bee done, I must bee undone, yf I live here; from whence I hasten to retreat with extreame griefe and horror, as from a precipice. Let mee bee degraded from this unwelcome dignity, and restored as Dr. Gauden to my living of Bocking. I shall avoyd being extreamely miserable, though I recover not my former felicity, which is pulled up by the rootes, and hardly ever to bee replanted in this world to any floridnes, yf by being a Bishop I must bee a beggar. I presume thus farre to owne my just sense of things to your Lordship, because you have oft professed to bee my friend, and now may really shew it, at least by some compassion upon,

*My Lord,*

*Exeter, St. Thomas's day, 1660.*

*Your very humble Servant, F. G.*

*The unhappy Bp. of Exon.*

*The BISHOP of EXETER to the LORD CHANCELLOR.*

*My Lord,*

I YESTERDAY kept the saddest Christmas day that ever I did in my life, among strangers, in a place where I have not an house to live in. In a condition that neyther admits an honorable retreate nor any happy advance. It is vaine to cry "*O mihi præteritos!*" &c. O that I had continued in that sweet and competent privacy of Bocking, where I lived many yeares as happily as could bee in our publique Tragedies! I confesse I am grieved to see myselfe cast out of that living before I had any other place fit to reside in. It had been noe great favour to let mee enjoy it in Commendam till I had taken root otherwhere; or some other instead of it given to mee, to encourage and support mee in

this my tedious banishment from my native country, wonted friends, and many affaires. All which I am to negleete and forsake, encombered with a title of ecclesiastick honor, and destitute not only of my former competency, but all other conveniencys of living. This is that I feared when I soe oft deprected the terror of this undertaking, both to your Lordship and the now Bishops of London and Worcester. These oft sought to assure mee, that it was noe lesse than 1000 or 1200*l.* per ann. Alas! I infallibly find there is not above 500*l.* a yeare. Besides, the house ruined beyond repaire, the revenew encombered with sales, the tenants dubious what to do. Here I am come to an high rack and empty manger, which I formerly presaged to your Lordship, but was more than once commanded by you to leave my concernes to your care, and to trust your favour for my provision as well as employ. Now I am the only man of any name and merit for industry and loyalty, whose condition is not only discomposed, but put upon a very great detriment, under a great expectation of living hospitably as becoming my place, when there is noe place fit for mee to live in, nor meanes to support mee. Nor will the imagination of raysing fines salve my misery. Alas! when purchasers are satisfied, and the estate cleared, I do not expect to receive soe much as will discharg my first fruits, which are at an high rate, and those other vast expenses which I have beene put upon, by being made a Bishop, and forced to remove soe tedious and costly a way. I am sorry to see myselfe reduced to this after-game. Dr. Morly once offred mee my option, upon the account of som service that hee thought I had done extraordinary for the Church and Royall Family, of which he told mee your Lordship was informed. This made mee modestly secure of your Lordship's favour; though I found your Lordship would never owne your consciousness to mee, as yf it would have given mee too much confidence of a proportionable expectation; yet still I found your Lordship's expressions to mee free and friendly. I once desired I might have the Savoy, presuming the Bishop of London would not keep it with soe rich a Bishoprick. That would be some conveniency for my repose some time at London, in order to keep my friendships and affaires from too much lapsing and decay. Your Lordship did not then deny it, but seemed to alledg some necessary delayes; yet I heare nothing of that or ought else that might make some addition to my support. Noe man is more devoted to serve God, the Church and the King than I am. I only expect that yf I doe my work I may have honorable wages. I cannot live cherfully in a conspicuity of honor without a competency. Here I shall come aground, and soone bee undone both in my estate and content of life, yf I bee not enabled to doe my duty with my wonted cherfulnes. Sunck I am, and dayly shall more and more. Extreamely displeased to find myselfe despised, and dejected upon the account of a modesty, that was loth to owne myselfe soe farre as I might, because I knew your Lordship and others of great influence in disposing of preferments, knew my service and merit to be noe way inferiour to the best of your friends or enemyes, who must have what they desired, and I, what all refused. Yf your Lordship have noe consideration of mee, I hope God will, whose grace is sufficient for mee. I have not yet soe lost myselfe, as that I deserve to bee despised or destroyed. I cannot beare with patience the sad reflections of my neerest and most deserving relation, though I could my owne. Yf I must perish, poore,

banished, and forsaken, yet I know how to perish with honor. Nor doe I despaine eyther of the King's or your Lordship's favour so farre, but you will have some pitty for me when you can have no further service of mee, who have done that service which noe age will forget, or cease to admire, though my honor and fortunes be buried in banishment, poverty, obscurity. My Lord, yf you really have any kindnes for mee, I pray let mee see it, for in earnest I never more needed som friend of honor to buoy up my sunck soule. Nor will your Lordship grudg mee your pardon for this my other importune writing, when you remember how much I have obeyed your persuasions, and how much you have commanded mee to repose in your favour, who, next God, have the heart of the King in your hand, and will I hope by your faithfull counsell direct it to all things of justice, gratitude, and honor. I take my leave and rest,

*Your Lordship's humble servant,*

*Morrow after Xmas day, 1660.*

*The sad Bp. of Exeter.*

*The BISHOP of EXETER to the LORD CHANCELLOR.*

*My Lord,*

**G**IVE mee leave once more, in my serenest temper, to expresse my sense of my affaires at Exeter, and my desire; leaving to your Lordship to esteeme of mee as you shall see I may deserve: I am not dissatisfied soe much with the place, though I have noe convenient dwelling as yet, much lesse with the people: none can bee more ingenuous and obliging, yea liberally kind; my reall trouble is, that I cannot live here to such a conspicuity of hospitablenes and charity, yea of gratitude, as becomes the King's service, the Churche's honor, a Bishop's dignity, and my owne relations, ever wonted to amplexes and freedome of all things; the revenew is noe more than 500*l.* per ann. and of this I see yet very little: the fines cannot bee any great matter, since there is yet noe estate cleare of former lifes in it. And by what time purchasers are satisfied, and my selfe repaired, as to charges, truly there can bee noe advantages to bee envied, or reckoned, as a fixed revenew; that which I desire cherefuly to spend is, at least 1000*l.* per ann. at lesse I cannot live here; where all things are as deare as at London, for the maine, and some dearer: I beleive your Lordship did expect the revenew would answer your favour to mee; who left that concerne wholly to your Lordship, as you commended mee, my undertaking was to doe my work, and to spend hansomly my wages; and though I knew it one of the smallest preferments for profit, and very inconvenient for distance from my friends and affaires, yet I was overruled by your Lordship, because I seemed much desired by the country; now, my Lord, is it an impossible thing for mee to bee supported, while I am here, soe as may content mee, and encourage mee in this great service? from which to remove in discontent and dishonor will not become mee, lesse those that sent mee. All I desire is an augment of 500*£* per annum, yf it cannot bee at present had in a commendam; yet possible the King's favour to me will not grudg mee this pension out of the first fruits and tenths of this Diocesse; till I bee removed or otherwayes provided for: nor will your Lordship startle at this motion, or wave the presenting it to hys Majesty, yf you please to consider the pretentions I may have

beyond any of my calling, not as to merit but duty performed to the Royall Family; true I once presumed your Lordship had fully known that Arcanum, for soe Dr. Morley told mee, at the King's first coming, when he assured mee the greatnes of that service was such, that I might have any preferment I desired. This consciousness of your Lordship, (as I supposed) and Dr. Morley, made mee confident my affaires would bee carried on to some proportion of what I had done, and he thought deserved. Hence my silence of it to your Lordship: as to the King and Duke of York, whom before I came away I acquainted with it, when I saw my selfe not soe much considered in my present disposure as I did hope I should have beeene; what sense their royall goodnes hath of it is best to be expressed by themselves, nor doe I doubt but I shall by your Lordship's favour find the fruits as to somthing extraordinary, since the service was soe; not as to what was known to the world under my name, in order to vindicate the Crowne and the Church, but what goes under the late blessed King's name, the *εἰκών* or Portraiture of hys Majesty in hys solitudes and sufferings. This book and figure was wholy and only my invention, making and designe, in order to vindicate the King's wisdome, honor and piety. My Wife indeed was conscious to it, and had an hand in disguising the letters of that copy which I sent to the King in the Ile of Wight, by the favour of the late Marquise of Hartford, which was delivered to the King by the now Bishop of Winchester: hys Majesty graciously accepted, owned and adopted it as hys sense and genius: not only with great approbation, but admiration: hee kept it with hym, and though hys cruel Murtherers went on to perfect hys Martyrdome; yet God preserved and prospered this book to revive hys honor, and redeeme hys Majesty's name from that grave of contempt and abhorrence, or infamy, in which they aymed to bury hym. When it came out, just upon the King's death; Good God! what shame, rage and despite filled hys Murtherers! What comfort hys friends! How many enemyes did it convert! How many hearts did it mollify and melt! What devotions it raysed to hys posterity, as children of such a father! What preparations it made in all men's minds for this happy restauration, and which I hope shall not prove my affliction! In a word, it was an army, and did vanquish more than any sword could. My Lord, every good subject conceived hopes of restauration; meditated reveng, and reparation: your Lordship and all good subjects with hys Majesty enjoy the reall and now ripe frutes of that plant; O let not mee wither! who was the author, and ventured wife, children, estate, liberty, life and all, but my soule, in so great an atcheivement, which hath filled England, and all the world, with the glory of it. I did lately present my fayth in it to the Duke of York and by hym to the King; both of them were pleased to give mee credit and owne it as a rare service in those horrors of times. True I played this best card in my hand somthing too late; else I might have sped as well as Dr. Reynolds and some others; but I did not lay it as a ground of ambition, nor use it as a ladder. Thinking myselfe secure in the just valew of Dr. Morley, who I was sure knew it, and told mee your Lordship did soe too; who I beleive intended mee somthing at least competent, though lesse convenient in this preferment. All that I desire is, that your Lordship would make that good, which I think you designed; and which I am confident the King will not deny mee, agreeable to hys royall munificence, which

promiseth extraordinary rewards to extraordinary services: certainly this service is such for the matter, manner, timing and efficacy, as was never exceeded, nor will ever bee equalled, yf I may credit the judgment of the best and wisest men that have read it; and I know your Lordship, who is soe great a master of wisdome and eloquence, cannot but esteeme the author of that peice; and accordingly make mee to see those effects which may assure mee, that my loyalty, paines, care, hazard and silence, are accepted by the King and Royall Family, to which your Lordship's is now grafted, where I wish it may together with the other branches florish, that under that shadow I and mine may thrive, while they enjoy the honor and influence of that constellation of wisdom and piety and patience, which bears the glorious name of the great paterne of Kings, Christians, Men and Martyrs. I was well before I was removed and wauted nothing; it is not covetousness now, as not ambition before, that moved in me. I only desire I may bee considered, as a person able and willing to serve the King; of which that Book is testimony enough; and shall I bee dejected or discouraged in soe great a diocese, and after soe great services, for want of revenew, suitable to my place and work? God forbid; the King is too generous and I hope your Lordship will be more a just favourer of your Honor's humble servant.

*Jan. 21. 1660.*

*My Lord,*      *The BISHOP of EXETER (GAUDEN) to the LORD CHANCELLOR.*

**T**HIS bearer, or Martin Chancellour of Exeter, can best give your Lordship an account of our Ecclesiastick affaires here; in which as I am by place and duty bound to take care, soe there shall bee noe defect in me; nor shall I want (I hope) those encouragements which may make mee cherfully beare the great burthen of busines here incumbent on mee. What inconveniences I contend with, he can witnesse; not only as to my private affaires, but alsoe as to the publiq; for want of ecclesiasticall authority and an uniforme way of Liturgy; to which all sober people and Ministers are much devoted; and many Presbyterians have expressed their readines to conforme. Yf I am thought worthy to do service to God, the King and the Church, I trust I shall be thought worthy of those encouragements and supports which are necessary for mee; else I must sink under my burthen with shame and sorrow; which I hope the King will not suffer; since I am a person that have not deserved soe hard a fate, in the generall joy of the Church and Kingdome; whereof yf I may not have my share, yet noe man can deprive mee of the honor to have contributed somthing to it, as by my last I acquainted your Lordship, of whose favour I cannot doubt, because I know your love to the King and Church, and soe to the servant of both, who is,

*Jan. 25. 1660.*

*My Lord, Your's, &c.*

*My Lord,*      *The BISHOP of EXETER (GAUDEN) to the LORD CHANCELLOR.*

**I** KNOW it is a trespass against the publiq good, to trouble your Lordship with any private concernes, further than they relate to the publique: and such I think mine are now made, since I am thus sent into a great sea; and soe cannot bee without such provision as is necessary for my condition; both to entertaine fayre weather with

cherefulnes, and fowle with courage. It will bee much better for the publiq's service, and my private content, to give mee leave to retire to any obscure port of tranquility than to bee thus exposed to much business, to frequent visits, to meritorious civility's, and to the just expectations of all worthy persons, that I should live in such a conspicuity and amplenes, as might expresse a generous, and gratefull mind to all men; and yet not bee able to answer these obligations as become the great courtesy of the Gentry and other persons of good breeding, or of necessitous condition; before whom I must shortly bee ridiculous yf I live long in soe narrow and obscure a way as hitherto I have beene forced to doe at Exeter; and must alwayes doe soe unless there bee some advance made to my subsistance as Bishop in this great City and poore Bishoprick, which I daily find to bee soe incompetent, that I hope neyther the King will command me, nor your Lordship expect from me, such a residence here as must infallibly undoe mee. A Bishop had need have 2000 $\text{£}$  at least 1500 $\text{£}$  a yeare to live here, as is fitting; where, in earnest, there is not 500 $\text{£}$  per annum in constant revenew; nor are there any fines considerable; there being not one manor free or in hand. I confesse I wonder to see my affaires brought to soe much trouble and difficulty, and noe remedy to bee had, nor scarce a word of comfort applied: I am in soe great streits that I know not what to resolve; where I ought to reside I cannot without some augment; where I did live many yeares very happily, there I may not: I am shortly to make the saddest journey that ever I did, which is to remove my goods from Bocking, and whither to carry them, myselfe and family, I know not; nor where to settle them, soe much is my happiness clouded, eclipsed and quite banished. Noe man was more happy, none is more distressed, and none (I think I may say it without vanity) hath lesse deserved to bee thus reduced to the inconveniences of life, which compel mee to complaine, yea to crave and beg of others that I may not bee miserable; since I never desired of the King or any man to bee thus preferred to honor and indigence. I must shortly come to a resolution: yf I bee not thought worthy to bee considered, there is but one counsel to be taken by mee, which may, though very much to my grieve and disorder, redeeme me from utter ruine, yet soe as not to neglect my duty to God, the King and the Church, soe farre as I shall bee able to attend it. I doe not desire to live long in this distracted and solicitous condition; I had rather dy, or else bee buried in any obscurity while I live. Noe man hath more of diligence and industry than myselfe, and none I see is lesse encouraged; mine are the paines others are the profits; yet is my mind soe moderate, that I ayme not to enrich my posterity, but only to adorne the province in which I am set, and expend what I receive of Ecclesiastical benefit. But I must not bee soe barbarous a parent, as not to make any provision for them, out of that estate, which I ow to noe man's favour nor yet to my owne industry, but to God's blessing and the favour of a person of incompatible virtue, as well as merit. I cannot but thus againe trouble your Lordship with my unhappy affaires, whose favour (as I beleived) had the greatest empire in commanding mee to bee thus miserable, beyond any ill merit, which noe man now knowes more fully than your Lordship. Certainly yf there were any valew of mee, or favour for mee, I should not be long left thus to bite or break my

chaines. Every worthy person here that truly understands the inconveniences of my condition pittys me, others will in a short time despise mee; having noe house fit for mee, nor any revenew fit for an ample house, nor any autority as a Bishop to defend, not myselfe soe much, as the Church, yea and the King's honor, which must all suffer with me. Certainly I am irreparably lost as to this world, yf neyther the King's favour, nor your Lordship's, can recover mee to such a condition as may make mee most capable to serve God, hys Majesty and the Church. But I will not despairre till I returne back to Exeter, after I have preached on Easter-day before the King, and have waited on your Lordship. But I wish never to returne againe to Exeter, yf it bee not more to my owne and my relations' content, than these last two months have beene; which have beene sweetned indeed with much love and outward civility, but inwardly bitter with the sense wee have of present and foresight of future difficultys attended with dishonor; to which neyther of our tempers can comply soe willingly as with death; for we hope wee are fit for death, but not to live soe much below ourselfes, both as to our former felicity and our present conspicuity. My Lord, this is still a further exercise of your patience and pardon, which is earnestly craved by,

*Your's, &c.*

*Exeter, Feb. 20. 1660.*

*The BISHOP of EXETER (GAUDEN) to the LORD CHANCELLOR.*

*My Lord,*

FINDING myselfe reduced to a condition as destitute of counsel as full of difficultys, I once more presume to importune your Lordship's favour, that yf your Lordship have any valew of mee, you would a little support mee with your favour and counsel, that I may bee able to come to some resolution what to doe, and how to settle my most discomposed and almost despairing affaires. I find here soe great a tenuity of support and such an uncertainty of eyther revenew or other incomes, that I cannot with any prudence fix here to house-keeping, nor in order thereto remove my goods and servants. Deprived I am of my former house and living which was better than this Bishoprick, all things considered; yf I am driven to take an house at London, where to settle my relations and affaires, it will not only bee a great trouble and charg to mee, but necessitate my non-residence here, where my work lyes, but my wages are wanting. Yf I were enabled any way to live here as becomes mee I would cherfully apply to settle; but I easily see how impossible it is for mee soe to doe, without ruine and dishonor, unlesse I have some augmentation to beare the charges of soe deare a place; where I am exposed to answer all men's civility and expectations. Yf there bee noe help for mee, I beseech your Lordship tel mee soe, that soe I may from despairre take counsel and bury myselfe in some private obscurity by his Majesty's permission; there to pray for hys Majesty, and prepare to leave a most unpleasing world. Yf I have deserved ill of the Crowne and Church, it will be a just penance; yf well, it is the least of favour can be shewed mee. I am shortly to come toward London, but with the greatest discountenance and distraction that ever I knew. When I have done my duty on

Easter-day, I know not next what to doe, nor whether to goe with any content or comfort. Before I goe from Exeter I should bee glad to see what way to take, I know I grow tedious to your Lordship, but I owe my distresses more to the influence of your Lordship's suasions and commands, than any man's, nor can I think but it is in your Lordship's power and prudence to apply some meet remedy; however, give mee leave to conclude with that, *Oro miserere Laborum Tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis.* So I take my leave, sad and solicitous, yet

*Your Lordship's humble Servant, John Exon.*

*Exeter, March 6, 1660.*

*The BISHOP of EXETER to the LORD CHANCELLOR.*

*My truly honoured Lord,*

THE daily report of my . . . . friend, the Bishop of Winchester's decay as to . . . . [bodily strength] (whom God preserve and comfort) doth no doubt give the alarm or . . . . watchword to many Bishops, . . . especially them of us who have high racks and deep mangers, as expecting by the vacancy of that great See some advantageous tide to our little frigates. For upon the *teinter* are we poor Bishops set all our lives, like Pharaoh's lean kine. We look meagrely and eagerly upon the opulency of others. For my own part, . . . . I might without vanity look towards that succession as well as others, being of what I have done with how much . . . . and success in the worst of times and things, for the inseparable interest of the Church and Crown; nor have I forgot how to live hospitably and charitably. Yet I had rather see four or five small Bishoprics mended out of the obeseness and superfluity of Winch. than have it entire to myself, if it be, as is reported, worth 5 or 600l. per annum.

My humble advice to the King, and so to your Lordship, is, that it might be reduced to the moiety, and the other half distributed to relieve the incomes of others. It were happy if no English Bishoprics were less than 1000l. per annum, nor above 2000l. except the archbishoprics, for methinks it doth not look so . . . . to see so vast a disproportion in . . . . of estate among persons of equal age . . . . and honour like guests at . . . . love-feasts among the Corinthians, where . . . . was full by superfluities, others . . . . by . . . . nor doth the grandeur of a few Bishops so much advance the honour of the function, as many small and indigent ones do abase it.

For my own condition, I confess, I cannot judge of love or hatred by all that is before me. That I am made a Bishop seems to report some esteem of me: but that I am condemned to a pittance, no way proportionable to the dignity or duty, looks like to the banishment of old to the *breves Gyrae*. What will be done for me as to the . . . . I . . . . not this I . . . . not to be wanting to my duty by God's help, though I be thought less worthy of reward, yet I will not be less diligent in my work. The King indeed hath graciously promised me some such instance of his favour as may be worthy of his father's glory and his own greatness.—Ahasuerus was restless till Mordecai, who had done service in order to save the King's life and honour, was eminently rewarded. All the English world knows how much I appeared in the most dark and dangerous times, how

much I stood in the gap, *and something I did which the world . . . . . [enjoyed], but knew not of, which hath made some few, that are conscious with me, to wonder at the tenuity and obscurity of my condition, after the . . . . had . . . . . [Sun had recovered its strength].* I am forced now not to be wanting to myself, not to rely too much on other men's justice and ingenuity. I insist much upon what Dr. Morley (now Bishop of Worcester) frankly told me, after the King's first coming to Whitehall, that I might have what preferment I desired; such an esteem he then put on me, and the services he knew I had done. Nor do I doubt but that if your Lordship please to second me with your favour (without whose assistance no orb moves regularly) his Majesty will both perform his Royal promise to me, and satisfy my desire, though I should aspire so high as Winchester, the advantage of which I would study to use by God's grace not to my . . . . or profit, so much as to the . . . . [public] honour of Episcopacy, in ways of piety, hospitality and charity—the only arts to buoy up episc . . . to stop the mouths of enemies, and to oblige all sorts of people. Tenuity of . . . . narrowness of mind, and obscurity of living, will undo us. Men are not . . . . that we retire and grow rich, but that we live in an honourable perspicuity. Nor shall I think myself one jot advanced by being a Bishop, until I am enabled to live as becomes me, and as formerly I did, with the love and approbation of the country. Indigence . . . . looks like vice. A Bishop, though poor, will be covetous, yea sordid, if he does not live so, as he must undo himself and his relations. If his Majesty please to make good that maxim, he . . . . in the Duke of Somerset's case, that he did not grudge extraordinary rewards to extraordinary services of his subjects . . . . Nor will your Lordship, I hope, divert his Majesty's . . . . and favour from me, who have had such experiences to yourself. But I sin against the public . . . . in thus diverting your Lordship to my private concerns which yet are so far . . . . public, as I do not doubt, by God's help, if I was once settled to bring faction even to repentance or despair within my Diocese, and to bring that part of this Church to a fixed uniformity and peaceful fixation. As I am, I can do little, being in an Arabic or ambulatory way of living, without any convenient habitation, or competent maintenance. My worldly felicity consists in industry with competency and tranquillity. As I know it is in your Lordship's power to obstruct, so I beseech you let it be in your will to promote the happy quiescence of

*Dec. 28. 1661.  
Gresham Coll. Lond.*

*Your Lordship's much to be obliged Servant,*

*JOHN EXON. Bp.*

*The BISHOP of EXETER to the EARL of BRISTOL.*

*Most noble Lord,*

I WAS much surprised yesterday at the Prince's lodgings, both with the admiration of your knowledge of that great arcanum, and at the most generous expressions of your Lordship's esteem and favour for me: in both which I do the more rejoice, because they have given me an opportunity to be known, under a character not ordinary, to a person whom of all men living I have, at my distance, esteemed one of the most accomplished by

nature, education, experience, and generous actions. Nor do I find him (as I have two other persons) looking with any oblique or envious eye, upon that which was the effect of a just and generous loyalty. I cannot imagine what key your Lordship has to the cabinet, unless the King or Royal Duke have lent you theirs; nor am I curious to enquire, because I know it dwells with a very valiant and loyal breast, as well as with a most eloquent tongue, which only speaks of those things which are worthy of it. If I may have the favour at your best leisure to wait on your Lordship, I shall more amply tell you how much I have of gratitude and honour for you, whose eminent lustre hath condescended to own him, whom some men have banished to so great an obscurity, and is much relieved by this confidence you have given me to write myself,

*Mar. 20. 1661-2.*

*My Lord, your most humble Servant,*

JOHN EXON.

*The Bishop of Exeter to the Earl of Bristol.*

*My Lord,*

THE venerable Bishop of Winchester hath this morning (March 26) left all human affairs. How far your Nobleness shall see fit to make use of the occasion, I leave to your great wisdom. It seems a good omen of Providence that my concerns should be credited to so generous a breast, and so potent a speaker, who, knowing all the principles of ingenuity, gratitude, justice, and honour, are most able to give them their due weight and vigour, impatient of any degeneration from them. Besides this, your Lordship's so unwonted favour, expressed to me with most signal emphasis, gives me assurances, that, however the honour of my being known to your Lordship is new and recent, yet I may, without any immodesty, expect those mature fruits which usually grow from most noble minds and princely affections. I cannot but be confident that his Majesty will do that is most worthy of his father's glory and his own greatness. Nor could I wish a more effectual intercessor than your Lordship, in whom are all those completions which advance men to love and high esteem of the better in the world. I beg your Lordship's pardon for the freedom of these lines, and beseech you not to proportion your future favour to my defeats (if they must be so). This I am sure, whatever the reward be, no man can rob me of the honour of the work. Upon which account, I know your Lordship cannot but have a convenient regard for,

*Gresh. Coll. Mar. 26, 1662.*

*Your Lordship's most humble Servant,*

JOHN EXON.

*GAUDEN, Bishop of Exeter to the Earl of Bristol.*

*Right Hon. and most noble Lord,*

AS I am most confident of his Majesty's gracious favour, oft confirmed to me by his Royal word and promise, so I shall in all things endeavour to acquiesce in his good pleasure: nor shall I either despair or doubt, till contrary effects confute me to a most unwelcome dejection. I confess I thought myself somewhat redeemed beyond other men from Court solicitations, by his Majesty's and his Highness's being conscious to my most

signal service, which I well know is to be kept secret, as only fit for royal and noble breasts. Nor could I prudently expect upon that account any extraordinary instance of his Majesty's favour, without putting the world upon a dangerous curiosity, if in other respects I had been inconspicuous; which I think was not but sufficiently known to all the English world by those many great and public works I had done in my sphere, to the hazard of my estate, liberty, and life, in order to preserve and restore the just interests of Church and Crown in the worst of times and things. One instance of which I herewith send your Lordship, which perhaps you have not seen, by which I did not only . . . . . but openly affront the army in their greatest insolency. Both enemies and friends saw me always standing in the gap, with a bold and diligent loyalty, doing my duty by preaching, printing, and acting, to the great vexation and confusion of those great tyrants and usurpers. So that my confidence of his Majesty's special favour is not only built on that hidden foundation, but on many other open and ample superstructures; such as my Hieraspites or Defence of the Clergy [4to, London, 1653]; also my *Iερα Δακρυν*, the Tears of the Church of England [fol. Lond. 1659.] besides many other less tracts and parrhesiastic sermons before General Monk and the City, also before the Parliament restored to liberty, and these in the very paroxysms or critical points of English affairs; sufficient I think too, if weighed impartially, to justify any degree of preferment, without the least amazing or offending the better world, whose wonder it hath been, as well as my trouble, to see myself hitherto exposed to so incompetent and inconvenient a condition, which looks so like a banishment more than preferment; a great work with small reward, never sought by any indiscreet ambition of mine (no, I am not so meer a scholar) but imposed upon me by the importunities of those who urged me with the King's will and command; thereby drawing me much against my genius from a very happy privacy, to a conspicuity attended with a tenuity, which are next neighbours to contempt.

These considerations I am bold to offer to your Lordship, not out of any vapour or ostentation, but only to demonstrate, that both his Majesty's and your Lordship's extraordinary favour may, without any solecism of State, be grounded on the public service I have done, besides that private one which is consecrated to the highest merit, reputation and honour in the world, as the *urne of the Royal ashes*, and the *embalming of a martyred King*. And since I have lived to see the happy influence and glorious effects of all my perils, prayers and labours, in the restauration of Church, King, and Kingdoms, I cannot believe that his Majesty will make my fortunes the only confutation and defeat of all I have done in those times, when there was no reward but the conscience of well-doing.

I have been, on all hands, by his Majesty, the Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of London, assured of a remove to a more easy station upon the first opportunity, such as this of Winchester now is, there being nothing more proportionable to his Majesty's greatness or his Father's glory. Nor can it be much too big for me, if it fits any other men, whom I cannot think giants, or myself a pygmy. This I am sure, whosoever hath the *tulit alter honores*, I may challenge, *Hos ego versiculos feci*; and the world

thought them heroic, worthy of Augustus. However, no latency of my service should, in justice or ingenuity, be any prejudice against me among those few who are both conscious to the merit, and now enjoy the fruits of them. These men, I am sure, may well be without envy, and they will be without apology, if they sin against ingenuity and their own words.

But, my Lord, I see that no desert is sufficient to redeem men from those difficulties which attend human affairs, especially when agitated in Princes' Courts. I am much more apt to serve others than to solicit for myself. Nor shall I be much guilty of that defect, if I may be happy in your Lordship's favour, as I have been, expressing to his Majesty, as occasion may offer itself, that regard you are pleased to have, beyond any desert of mine, for

*Your Lordship's most humble and thankful Servant,*

*March 27.*

JOHN EXON.

GAUDEN, BISHOP of EXETER, to the EARL of BRISTOL.

*My most noble Lord,*

THE address of this is only to enquire of your Lordship's health, for which I am very solicitous, not more for my private, than the public concerns. I am happy in your particular favour, and all worthy persons in the nobleness of your example, which is adorned with all civil and generous accomplishments.

When I have paid this respect to your Lordship's health, I am further a debtor to your Lordship for your last very noble and kind letter, expressing so great a zeal for my interests. Whatever the event of my affairs shall be, I shall always live, I hope, above envy, and be capable so to assert myself, that I shall appear a person not to be despised. Besides, I have now a new ambition to do all things worthy of the great favour and esteem your Lordship is pleased to put upon me. Certainly, my Lord, I have done work of some importance, which hath the proportions of a soul not *petit* and narrow. I shall not easily shrink to any thing that is mean and vulgar. If I have not the favour from those from whom I have merited, I shall of Him from whom no man can properly merit. I suppose these things are already concluded against me at Court. Possibly here will be such a preterition, as neither Winchester, nor Worcester, nor the Lord Almoner's place, will be bestowed upon me. Yet I shall ever remain

*Your Lordship's most humble and thankful Servant,*

*April 1, 1662.*

JOHN EXETER.

GAUDEN, BISHOP of EXETER to the EARL of BRISTOL.

*My very noble Lord,*

THERE are no eyes I more justly dread than your's for the acuteness and perspicuity, yet none to which I more willingly present, or more ambitiously study to approve myself; and what I do, because, as I know your Lordship to be master of very rare accomplishments in point of judgment matured by learning and experience, so I find you

no less adorned with that candour and civility, which gives most *pulitura* to excellent endowments. Besides this, your Lordship commands me to believe that there is in your noble Genius something of a particular favour and inclination toward me, who have nothing so considerable in me as that great esteem, I may say, with truth, admiration of yourself, in whom I see such a confluence of excellency, advancing you nearest to those perfections which humanity is capable of in this world.

My Lord, this I write not out of any meanness of spirit, which is beneath your Lordship and myself. I have no man living to fear or flatter below that justice and generosity of soul which becomes me. There is no design which I would advance by such engines. But I cannot forbear to assure your Lordship how high a Value, Honour (and if you will give leave) Love, I have for your Lordship. I never knew any person at distance, whose worth I have more esteemed, or whose acquaintance I have more coveted, not only as an high honour, but improvement. I would not willingly be at distance from you, nor can I chearfully differ from you in any thing, because I presume your Lordship takes nothing upon trust, but brings all to the test of reason and religion, justice and honour.

Upon the occasion of this petty piece of charity to Quakers, I have declared my latitude and indulgence to all sober Dissenters from the settled Religion of the Nation. It is but a scheme rough drawn as yet: a better hand may so polish and complete it, as it will fit not only the public interest of peace, but the private of men's consciences and those different persuasions, which they desire to enjoy without trouble, while they give no offence or perturbation to the public. Certainly religion makes the best of men: and I shall ever think there is most divinity where there is most humanity; which is, as the beams of the Sun in the Moon, a weaker reflection of Divine glory in human nature. There is nothing more excellent in God than his Philanthropy; and no doubt in men, the more they are raised above the brutish fierceness and curstness which their passions prompt them to, the more they will discover of Men, of Angels, and of God in their censure and converse. Where men agree in the morals and main substances of true religion, they cannot be at any great, rude, or unkind distance, as to lesser opinions. My Lord, no man more passionately deplores the divisions of Christendom: none more studious of truths, which tend to peace and holiness. I suspect all things as impious which are pernicious; nor can I see any principle destructive in our Religion as Christian, but only to Sin and Sinners, whose impenitence deprives them of God's mercy, and their pragmatic humours expose them to man's justice. My Lord, since you profess to own some ground of your favour to me, which I never intended you should be conscious of, let me ever enjoy it till I forfeit it by unhandsome actions; and then, however I may be less in their esteem whom I sought to oblige, yet I shall never think myself under-valued, since I enjoy a place of repute and honour in so noble a breast, so great an Arbitrator in what is generous and comely, whose chidings shall be more welcome, than other men's commendations to

*Your Lordship's most humble Servant,*

May 1, 1662.

JOHN EXON.

**GAUDEN, BISHOP of WORCESTER to the EARL of BRISTOL.**

*Right Honourable my very good Lord,*

I CANNOT in a few words express the grateful sense I have of your Lordship's and your noble Lady's favours, so amply expressed to me in the late access I had to your Honour at Wimbledon. I shall then do your Lordship and myself most right, when I take most apt opportunities to express the great devotion I have to serve persons of so great accomplishments. This occasion at present confines me to crave your Lordship's assistance to this worthy person Dr. Gatford, whose other great abilities are most set forth by his indefatigable Charity towards those poor, but worthy Cavaliers, whose distresses call for some relief from all able and honest men, especially in this interim, while they attend that Royal and public relief which is designed for them. Many of them are so aground, that they cannot move out of the City to seek their shares in that contribution. By his Majesty's princely favour, some advance may be made to facilitate their condition. When your Lordship more fully understands by him what his humble purpose is, I do not doubt but it will be so far acceptable to your Lordship, as may engage your potent intercession to his Majesty; nor do I doubt but my commendation of Dr. Gatford and his Intents to your Lordship, may give him that interest in your favour, which is humbly begged by

*Your Lordship's most humble Servant,*

*Gresham College, July 9, 1662.*

**JOHN WORCESTER.**

**GAUDEN, BISHOP of WORCESTER to the EARL of BRISTOL.**

*My Lord,*

THE last letter by Dr. Gatford was upon the account of Charity. This is to pay a particular respect to your Lordship, and to beseech you to give me leave to present my thoughts to you, by way of a most humble and affectionate reflecting upon that, which your Lordship vouchsafed to acquaint me with, as the principal motive and confirmation of that change, which was made, upon your choice, as to that Ecclesiastic Communion which your Lordship now professeth. I know it may seem a boldness next to rudeness, for me, so much and so deservedly a stranger, and at a just distance from your Lordship's eminent quality, to make any scruple of that, which your Lordship's judgment is pleased to prefer in so great a concern as religion. Nor will I give your Lordship any trouble by my impertinence, unless I may have leave from your Lordship, who, having expressed so unwonted favour to me, have obliged me not only to be very faithful to you, but also so observant of that decorum which becomes me, that I cannot presume to serve you as I am most ambitious to do, and therein serve the Church, King, and Country, unless I may be assured of so candid an interpretation of my presumption, as your nobleness hath given me cause to hope for. Meantime, while I am devoting myself to express that duty and respect I have for your Lordship, I earnestly beg the further favour of that privacy, as may preserve my papers only in your own loyal and learned breast.

I was, as your Lordship advised, to wait on his Majesty, and follow your Lordship's direction, with as much favour and acceptance as I could desire, from an excellent Prince, whose heart cannot be a stranger to any virtue, since his ear is so open to the humble remonstrance of the meanest of his Subjects, who had so fair access to his Majesty, even to his Closet for one quarter of an hour.

*My Lord, I am your Honour's most humbly devoted Servant,  
Gresham College, July 9, 1662.*

JO. WORCESTER.

#### WAGSTAFFE'S LIST OF EDITIONS OF THE EIKON.\*

*An Account of the several Impressions, or Editions of King CHARLES the Martyr's most Excellent Book, Intituled Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, that have been Printed both without and with the Prayers at the End.*

*These 28 of the first Impressions or Editions of the King's Book, are  
Printed without the Prayers.*

THE First Impression in 12°. Printed *Anno Dom. 1648.* last Page 187. Contents one Leaf at the end.

The 2d. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. last pag. 269. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 3d. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. last pag. 269. Cont. 3 Leaves.

The 4th. Imp. in 12°. Prin. 1648. last p. 269. Cont. 3 Leaves.

The 5th. Imp. in 12°. Prin. 1648. last pag. 269. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 6th. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. last pag. 268. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 7th. Imp. in 8°. Reprinted in *R. M. 1648.* last pag. 268. Contents two Leaves.

The 8th. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. last pag. 270. Cont. 3 Leaves.

The 9th. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1648. with only the Lady *Elizabeth's Relation* last pag. 302.

The 10th. Imp. in 8°. Print. 1648. the last pag. 242. [Contents two Leaves.]

The 11th. Imp. in 8°. Print. 1648. last p. 302. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 12th. Imp. in 8°. Reprinted for *James Young 1648.* last pag. 268. Contents two Leaves.

The 13th. Imp. in 12°. Prin. 1648. last pag. 164. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 14th. Imp. in 12°. Prin. 1648. last p. 187. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 15th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1648. last p. 225. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 16th. Imp. in 24°. Print. 1648. last p. 342. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 17th. Imp. in 24°. Print. 1648. no Figures, Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 18th. Imp. in 8°. Print. 1649. last p. 204. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 19th. Imp. in 8°. Print. at *Paris English 1649.* last pag. 196. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 20th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. last p. 264. with Epitaphs.

The 21st. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. last p. 195. Cont. 1 Leaf.

\* Mr. Henry Gray, the friend of genealogists and topographers, has kindly given me a copy of a List of Editions, apparently taken from a number of some magazine for 1756. It was communicated by Joseph Ames, the antiquary, and contains a column alleging the number of copies printed of each edition.

The 22d. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. (in Latin) last p. 272 with Apothegms.

The 23d. Imp. in 12°. Print at the *Hague* by *Sam. Brown* 1649. (in Latin) last pag. 272.  
Cont. 2 leaves.

The 24th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. at the *Hague* for *Williams* and *Eglesfield* (Latin) last  
p. 272. Cont. two Leaves.

The 25th. Imp. in 12°. Print. (in Latin) 1649. last p. 258.

The 26th. Imp. in 12°. Print. with the Works 1649. last p. 182.

The 27th. Imp. in 24°. printed at the *Hague* by *Sam. Brown*, 1649. last p. 318. Cont.  
4 Leaves.

The 28th. Imp. in 8°. Print. for *R. Royston* 1681. last pag. 256 Cont. 1 Leaf.

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*These 27 of the Second Impressions or Editions of the King's Book,  
Printed with the Prayers.*

THE First Impression in *Octavo*, Printed 1648. last Page 270. the Prayers added  
in 1649.

The 2d. Imp. in 24°. Print. 1648. last p. 354.

The 3d. Imp. in 24°. Print. 1649. last p. 436. Cont. 2 Leaves with the Additions of the  
Prayers.

The 4th. Imp. in 8°. Print. 1649. last p. 258.

The 5th. Imp. in 8°. very large. the best Printed 1649. the last p. 263. Cont. 2 Leaves.

The 6th. Imp. in 8°. Prin. 1649. last p. 236. with Apothegms.

The 7th. Imp. in 8°. Printed 1649. last p. 247. Prayers added.

The 8th. Imp. in 8°. Print, 1649. last p. 269. Cont. 3 Leaves.

The 9th. Impression in 12°. Print. 1649. with Apothegms.

The 10th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. in Dutch.

The 11th. Imp. in 12°. Printed 1649. in French, last p. 442. Contents one Leaf and half.

The 12th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. in French. last p. 269. Cont. 2 Leaves, with some of  
his Works.

The 13th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. last p. 230. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 14th. Imp. in 12°. Print. 1649. last p. 260. Cont. 1 Leaf.

The 15th. Imp. in 24°. Print. 1649. last p. 226.

The 16th. Imp. in 24°. Print. 1649. last p. 175.

The 17th. Imp. in 24°. Printed in 1649. last p. 354.

The 18th. Imp. in 8°. Print. at the *Hague* by *Sam. Browne. Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinæ* the  
Works of King *Charles* the I. without date. Last pag. 119.

The 19th. Imp. in 8°. Printed at the *Hague* by *Sam. Browne* 1651. last pag. 324.

The 20th. Imp. in 8°. of the King's Works in 2 Vol. Prin. 1659.

The 21st. Imp. in 24°. Print. at the *Hague* by *Sam. Browne*. in 1657. the King's Works.

The 22d. Imp. in 24°. Print. in 1651. with the King's Works.

The 23d. Imp. in 24°. Reprinted in 1649. *Reg. M.* last pag. 181. Contents two Leaves.

The 24th. Imp. in 12°. of the King's Works Print. in 1650, at the *Hague* by *Sam. Browne*, with divers of His Majestys Prayers, whereof the three last used by him in the time of his Restraint, were delivered to the Bishop of *London*, at his death, from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army: And amongst these six Prayers that entitled to be said in Time of Captivity, and taken out of Sir *Phillip Sidney's Arcadia* is not one of them, however it came to be printed in some of them.

The 25th. Impression in *Folio* being the whole Works of King *Charles the I.* and by Order of King *Charles the II.* Printed in 1662. for *R. Royston*.

The 26th. Imp. in 8°. large Printed in 1685. last pag. 272. for *R. Royston*.

The 27th. Imp. in Folio being the whole Works of King *Charles the I.* and by Order of King *James the II.* Printed in 1686.

CHARLES II.'S LICENSE TO RICHARD ROYSTON TO PRINT  
THE *EIKON BASILIKE*, ETC.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree, Condition or Quality soever within our Kingdoms of *England, Scotland* and *Ireland*, or any of Our Dominions, greeting. Whereas We have received sufficient Testimony of the Fidelity and Loyalty of Our Servant *Richard Royston* of Our City of *London* Book-seller, and of the great Losses and Troubles he hath sustained for his Faithfulness to Our Royal Father of blessed Memory, and Our Self, in the Printing and Publishing of many Messages and Papers of Our said Blessed Father, especially those most Excellent Discourses and Soliloquies by the name of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*. Know ye, That it is Our Royal Will and Pleasure, and We do by these presents Grant unto the said *Richard Royston*, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, the sole Printing and Publishing of the said Messages, Papers and Discourses contained in the Book Intituled *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinæ*, and of all or any other the Works of Our said Royal Father, with other Papers and Declarations concerning Our said Royal Father, in any Volume or Volumes whatsoever. Of which Our Grant and Royal Pleasure We will and require all Our loving Subjects to take notice; And that none of them presume to print, or cause to be printed, vended, or put to sale the said Book Intituled *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinæ*, or any part of the said Papers or Works of Our said Royal Father, within these Our Realms and Dominions, or any of them, whether Printed within these Our Dominions, or Imported from Forein Parts, contrary to Our express Pleasure herein declared, without the Licence and Consent of the said *Richard Royston*, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, under such Penalties as are by the Lawes and Statutes of this Our Realm imposed upon such Persons as Imprint, Import, Vend, or Put to sale unlicensed and prohibited Books; Any Privilege, Custome or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness, &c.

Given at Our Court at *White-Hall* the nine and twentieth day of *November*, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.

## ROYSTON'S DEDICATION TO CHARLES II.

TO THE KINGS most Excellent MAJESTY CHARLES II.

By the Grace of God KING of Great *Britain, France and Ireland, &c.**May it please Your MAJESTY,*

**S**O Clear and Indisputable is Your Majesties Title to the following Papers, that to prefix any other name before them, were a boldness, next door to sacrilegious. They had the honour, when first published, to attend the Works of Your Majesties Royal Father of blessed Memory; the greatest part of which Impression (collected with great Cost and Care) having in the late Conflagration perished in the common flames; I was ambitious by reviving this Piece, to do some honour to the Memory of so Great a Prince, and that the world might see how far Truth and Justice and a better Cause is able to hold out, under the most prosperous Triumphs of violence and oppression, and that when Villains may be suffered so far to prevail, as to despoil Majesty of all advantages of Power and Greatness, it can at the same time be secure in the comforts of its own innocence and vertue. That Heaven would bless Your Majesty with a long Life and a prosperous Reign, with all the blessings of this, and a better world, is the hearty and incessant prayer of

*Your Majesties most humbly devoted**Subject and Servant,*

Richard Royston.

The following will be found in some editions of the *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinæ*, published after the Restoration:—

## TO THE READER.

**I**N these Papers, READER, thou hast a short Account how this best of PRINCES Lived and Died; a Subject that was fit to be writ only with the point of a Scepter: none but a Royal Breast can have Sentiments equal to His Vertues, nor any but a Crowned Head can frame Expressions to represent His Worth. He that had nothing Common or Ordinary in His Life and Fortune, is almost profaned by a Vulgar Pen. The attempt, I confess, admits no Apologie but this, That it was fit that Posterity, when they read His Works (for they shall continue while these Islands are inhabited, to upbraid Time, and reproach Marble Monuments of weakness) should also be told that His Actions were as Heroick as His Writings, and His Life more Elegant than His Style. Which not being undertaken by some Noble hand, (that was happy in a near approach to Majesty, and so could have taken more exact measures of this Great Example for Mighty Kings, rendred it in more full proportions, and given it more lively Colours) I was by importunity prevailed upon to imitate those affectionate Slaves, who would gather up the scattered limbs of some great Person that had been their Lord, yet fell at the Pleasure of his Enemies, burn them on some Plebeian Pyle, and entertain their ashes in an homely Urn, till future times could cover them with a

*Pyramid, or inclose them in a Temple; by making a Collection from Writers and Persons worthy of Credit, of all the Remains and Memoires (I could get) of this incomparable Monarch: Whose Excellent Vertues though they often tempted the Compiler to the Liberty of a Panegyrick, yet they still perswaded him to as strict an observance of Truth as is due to an History: For he praises this King best who writes His Life most faithfully, which was the Care and Endeavour of*

Thine,  
Rich. Perrinchief.

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This, too, is found in some editions of the *Reliquie Sacrae Carolinæ*:—

MAJESTY in MISERY:  
OR,  
*An Imploration to the KING of Kings.*

Written by his late Majesty King CHARLES the First, during His  
Captivity at Carisbrooke Castle, Anno Dom. 1648.

- 1    *GREAT Monarch of the World, from whose Power  
The Potency and Power of Kings, [springs  
Record the Royal Woe, my Sufferings sings,*
- 2    *And teach my tongue, that ever did confine  
Its faculties, in Truth's Seraphick Line  
To tract the treasons of thy foes and mine.*
- 3    *Nature and Law, by thy Divine Decree  
(The only Root of Righteous Royaltie)  
With this dim Diadem invested me,*
- 4    *With it, the sacred Scepter, Purple Robe,  
The Holy Unction, and the Royal Globe:  
Yet am I level'd with the life of Job.*
- 5    *The fiercest Furies, that do daily tread  
Upon my Grief, my Gray Dis-crowned head,  
Are those, that owe my Bounty for their Bread.*
- 6    *They raise a War, and Christen it, The Cause,  
Whilst sacrilegious hands have best applause,  
Plunder, and Murder, are the Kingdoms Laws;*
- 7    *Tyranny bears the Title of Taxation,  
Revenge and Robbery are Reformation,  
Oppression gains the name of Sequestration.*

- 8 *My Loyal Subject who in this bad season  
Attend me (by the Law of God and Reason)  
They dare impeach, and punish for high Treason.*
- 9 *Next at the Clergy, do their Furies frown,  
Pious Episcopacy must go down,  
They will destroy the Crosier and the Crown.*
- 10 *Church-men are chain'd, and Schismaticks are free'd,  
Mechanicks preach, and Holy Fathers bleed,  
The Crown is crucified with the Creed.*
- 11 *The Church of England doth all Faction foster,  
The Pulpit is usurpt by each Impostor,  
Ex tempore, excludes the Pater Noster.*
- 12 *The Presbyter and Independant Seed  
Springs with broad-blades; to make Religion bleed,  
Herod, and Pontius Pilate are agreed.*
- 13 *The Corner-stone's misplac't by every Pavier;  
With such a bloody method, and behaviour,  
Their Ancestors did crucifie our Saviour.*
- 14 *My Royal Consort, from whose fruitfull Womb  
So many Princes legally have come,  
Is forc't in Pilgrimage to seek a Tomb.*
- 15 *Great Britains Heir is forced into France,  
Whilst on his Father's head, his foes advance,  
Poor Child! He weeps out his Inheritance.*
- 16 *With my own Power, my Majesty they wound,  
In the King's Name, the K. himself's uncrown'd:  
So doth the dust, destroy the Diamond.*
- 17 *With Propositions daily they enchaunt  
My Peoples ears, such, as do Reason daunt,  
And the Almighty will not let me Grant.*
- 18 *They promise, to erect my Royal Stem,  
To make me Great, t' advance my Diadem,  
If I will first fall down, and worship them;*
- 19 *But for refusal they devour my Thrones,  
Distress my Children, and destroy my bones,  
I fear they'l force me, to make bread of stones.*
- 20 *My Life they prize at such a slender rate,  
That in my absence, they draw bills of hate,  
To prove the King, a Traytor to the State.*

21 *Felons obtain more priviledge than I,  
They are allow'd to answer, e're they dye,  
'Tis death for Me, to ask the reason, Why.*

22 *But Sacred Saviour, with thy words I woo  
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to  
Such, as thou know'st do not know what they do.*

23 *For since they from their Lord are so disjointed,  
As to contemn those Edicts he appointed,  
How can they prize the Power of his Anointed?*

24 *Augment my Patience, nullifie my hate,  
Preserve my Issue, and inspire my Mate,  
Yet, though We perish, bless this Church and State.*

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In introducing Mr. Scott's preface to the 1880 edition of the *Eikon*, it is only necessary to say that it contains much valuable matter, and should be read very carefully. Surely no one could stand in a better position for judging such a question than the head of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. If I have done wrong in attempting this bibliography, Mr. Scott must take a little of the blame, as, but for his constant and most kindly encouragement, I should never have taken the spring from the diving-board. Miss Phillimore's preface to the 1879 edition is of great interest, and would also have been reprinted, but I found that Messrs. Parker still have copies for sale.

#### MR. E. J. L. SCOTT'S PREFACE TO THE 1880 EDITION.

THE history of *Eikon Basilike* has been so often written, and the merits and capabilities of the two persons to whom the authorship has been attributed for producing such a work have been so fully tested and considered by their various supporters on either side, that it may seem unnecessary and almost impertinent to attempt to say anything on so threadbare a subject. But the latest writer who has given an opinion on the case carries such weight in his name, and is so likely to be accepted as an authority on this point, that it is all the more to be desired that his views, if incorrect, should be challenged, and where possible refuted. In a monograph on Milton, just issued, for the series of English Men of Letters, is a brief account in four pages of *Eikon Basilike*, wherein are reproduced all the blunders and misstatements which it was the laborious task of Dr. Wordsworth, fifty years ago, to expose and confute. Indeed, his masterly letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury might

as well have never been written, and he might have spared himself the trouble of replying to Todd, Broughton, Lingard, Hallam, and the rest of his able and ingenious opponents. We are told once more in direct terms that *the book was composed by Dr. Gauden*. Of this, however, no proof is adduced, but the writer adds that *it is possible that Gauden may have had in his hands some written scraps of the King's meditations*. This is rather in favour of the King, as it allows him some original meditations, a point generally contested by his enemies, and very damaging to Gauden, because the latter distinctly denies that he owed anything whatever to his rival; the book and figure, he says, being wholly and only his own invention, making, and design. We are told on the next page that *though a Royalist, Gauden sat in the Westminster Assembly*. If this be so, how comes Professor Masson, in his exhaustive list of the men who composed that Assembly, to have omitted the name of so distinguished a Royalist (there were not many, it may be imagined, of that class in that august body) as Gauden? And further, *he took the Covenant, for which compliance he nearly lost the reward which after the Restoration became his due*. If there is one point about Gauden which is doubtful, it is whether he ever took the Covenant; and he is believed to have denied that he did so. *The readers of "Eikon Basilike" never doubted that the meditations were those of the royal martyr*. What becomes then of the first controversy which raged so fiercely in 1649 as to the authorship of the book, and which produced so many pamphlets on both sides for and against the King, such as the *Princely Pelican* and many others? Two pages further on we are told that *the plagiarism of the prayer from Sidney's "Arcadia" ought to have opened Milton's eyes to the unauthentic character of the "Eikon."* What had a subsequent appendix to the *Eikon* (the prayers being no part of the first edition, but added afterwards to later ones) to do with the authentic character of a work of which at the time of publication they formed no portion? *The secret of the authorship of the "Eikon" was well kept, being known only to a very few persons—the two royal brothers, Bishop Morley, the Earl of Bristol, and Clarendon.* If we are to believe Gauden's own words, the only one of these persons who knew it was Bishop Morley, and he, as I shall shortly prove, never for one moment attributed the work to any but Charles I, from the date of its appearance in 1649 to his death in 1684. It is true that Gauden frequently appealed to Morley's knowledge of it, but there is not a word from Morley to prove that he knew it. Gauden plainly tells us that *the two royal brothers first learnt the secret from himself in the end of 1660, and that he was not made a Bishop on that account, a fact which Mrs. Gauden is also equally positive about; and yet we are now told he pleaded it successfully as a claim to preferment at the Restoration, and he received the bishopric of Exeter*. Why, so far different is the truth, that he was actually nominated as a fit person to fill a see in 1658, two years before he ever made his claim at all. Clarendon and Bristol both, according to Gauden's own letters, are made acquainted with the secret after the Restoration, when he is already Bishop of Exeter. Such is the latest account of the *Eikon Basilike*, and of the circumstances attending its production; but as all these points have long ago been satisfactorily cleared up and settled by Dr. Wordsworth, it is

only necessary now, in writing a Preface for a New Edition, to bring before the notice of the public any fresh evidence which may have turned up during the last fifty years. As Dr. Wordsworth confidently prophesied at the close of his labours that such evidence would come to light in the course of time, and that it would be wholly for the King and against Gauden, so his prophecy has been verified to a great extent, and will no doubt some day be completely fulfilled. There are two grounds on which this question has generally been disputed: 1st, the internal; 2nd, the external evidence. On both these heads something new may be said; and 1st, as to the internal. To begin with the title page. It has never been noticed that while the first edition has the date "MDCXLVIII." alone, all later editions before 25th March, 1649, have the words, "Reprinted in R[egis] M[emoriam] 1648." This is strong evidence in support of the statement that the *Eikon* was first *printed* (but not published) during the King's life. This is one point against Gauden, for his wife declares that he could not get it printed until *some few days after* the King's death. If Charles I. was dead at the time of the printing of the title page of the *Eikon*, that work could not have been entitled the Portraiture of his Majesty, but of his *late* Majesty.

Next, as to the frontispiece. Here there are three or four new points to be noticed. The emblems in it are taken from different parts of the *Eikon* itself, such as the crowns of gold and of lead, from the end of Chapter VI.; the metaphor of the sea raging when stormy winds blow upon it, from Chapter IV.; and many others. Next, the verses beneath the frontispiece, being the explanation of it, bear the signature G. D., which Todd explains to mean G[auden] D[esigned], or G[auden] D[ean of Bocking]. But Dr. Wordsworth, on the other hand, says these initials must stand for G[ulielmus] D[u]gard, the printer of one edition of the *Eikon*; and that he is right in so saying is proved by the discovery of the diary (now in the British Museum, Add. MS. 23,146) of Dugard's brother Thomas, who throughout it uses that remarkable and striking capital D, which is also found in Dugard's earlier edition of the *Eikon*. This copy is now in the hands of the Rev. Thomas Ford Fenn, Head Master of Trent College, near Nottingham. In another early copy, of 1648[9], from Dugard's press, in the possession of Mrs. Manson, of Muswell Hill, these explanatory verses are not *printed*, but *engraved* from the handwriting of their author, and bear no shadow of resemblance to Gauden's hand, but are written in the style of a schoolmaster's copies; and William Dugard was High Master of St. Paul's Grammar School. Again, it has not been noticed that the Greek motto at the foot of the frontispiece, *τὸ χῖ οὐδὲν ἡδίκησε τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ τὸ κάππα*, which Gauden, in his sermon on the 30th January, 1648[9], refers to Constantine, has really no reference whatever to that Emperor, but to Constantius, for Julian the Apostate, from whose *Misopogon* this line is quoted, is speaking of the time when he himself was made Cæsar. This sermon directly attributes the *Eikon* to Charles I.; and it is absolutely impossible that Gauden, the writer of it, should have misunderstood and misapplied the quotation which, as Gauden, the author of the *Eikon*, he had made use of only a year before. Another point on which great stress has been laid by both parties in their arguments is the fact that the first couplet of the explanation of the frontispiece

presents the very words in English which in Latin close the *Eikon*, viz., "Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt," and that this Latin motto is found at the end of a poem called "Majesty in Misery," composed by Charles I. at Carisbrook. But no one has apparently noticed that all three come from one and the same place, viz., the concluding words of Chapter XVIII. of the *Eikon* itself, "What we could not get by our treaties we may gain by our prayers." Consequently as the verses appear first in Dugard's edition of the frontispiece, so does the motto at the close of his edition, being, no doubt, added by himself. The truth is that this comparison of the various editions of the work has never hitherto been attempted, and yet, if closely followed up, would inevitably lead to most important results as to the real authorship. Let all copies now known to exist be collected together, and collated carefully one with another, and who can say what further evidence would not instantly be elicited, which might set this unhappy question at rest for ever. The British Museum alone possesses twenty-five copies, the Lambeth Library four, and so on, many of which contain manuscript notes and memoranda hitherto unpublished. There is one piece of internal evidence in favour of Charles I. which has never yet been adduced, and that is a comparison of the apophthegmata in the *Eikon* with those composed by the King, and written with his own hand in his copy of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (interpreted by Gilbert Wats, Oxford, 1640), now in the British Museum. This book is exhibited under glass in a case in the King's Library, and yet has remained all these years unnoticed and unquoted. They are so very important that the whole of them are subjoined here in order that future readers of the *Eikon* may find out the parallel passages for themselves. They occur in Book VI., pp. 300-323, where examples of the Antitheta are given under various headings, *pro et contra*, such as Nobility, Beauty, Youth, &c.:—

## HEALTH IV.

*Pro.* None so truely knowes the value of Healthe as those who want it.

## PRAISE REPUTATION IX.

*Pro.* Reward is nothing but reall Praise.

## LIFE XII.

*Pro.* If long Lyfe were not a great Blessing, God had never offerd it as a reward to Mankynde.

## SUPERSTITION XIII.

*Pro.* If a Man, by eschewing superstition, grow to be Profaine, what hath he gotten?

## PRIDE XIV.

*Contra.* Pride made Angels Deuils.

## ENVY XVI.

*Contra.* All Enuy proceeds from a knownen selfe unworthiness.

## CRUELTY XVIII.

*Contra.* None but Cowards are cruell.

## VAINGLORY XIX.

*Contra.* Vaine glorious Persons are never satisfied, though they obtaine what they desyer, as thinking their Merit beyond theirre owen imagination.

## FORTITUDE XXI.

*Pro.* A feareful Man wants but occasion to be Vitius.

## TEMPERANCE XXII.

*Pro.* Temperance rewards a man when he least thinks of it.

## CONSTANCY XXIII.

*Contra.* Varietie is this World's delight.

## MAGNANIMITY XXIV.

*Contra.* How can that be a Virtue which is built upon Vyce?

## KNOWLEDGE CONTEMPLATION XXV.

*Pro.* Knowledge giues lyke Pleasure to the Mynde w<sup>ch</sup> Venus doth to the Body.

## LEARNING XXVI.

*Pro.* Naturall Witt, destitute of Learning, is but lyke unpolished Marble.

## LOQUACITY XXXI.

*Contra.* Few great Talkers are good Doers.

## BOLDNESSE XXXIII.

*Contra.* None but Fooles or ill-bred Men are Impudent.

## JEASTS XXXV.

*Contra.* Dull jesters are contemned, & those who are witty are more hated then praised.

## LOVE XXXVI.

*Pro.* Love is the Mother of all noble Actions.

## INNOVATION XL.

*Pro.* [He that will not apply new remedies] must neuer cure new Diseases.

*Contra.* He that Innovats hath need to be verry Wyse, for he taxes all Men of Ignorance.

## VIOLENT CONSILS XLIV.

*Contra.* Nothing but a desperat Disease can tollerat a violent Remedy.

## SUSPICION XLV.

*Contra.* Suspition is incompatible with true frendship. Suspition allwais proceedeth eather from Feare or Gilt.

All these apophthegms strike one on reading them at first as extremely similar in style and expression to those scattered throughout the pages of the *Eikon*; for instance, at the beginning of Chapter XVI. of that work occurs the following sentence: "So hardly can the pride of those that study novelties allow former times any share or degree of wisdom or godliness." Compare with this the entry by Charles with his own hand in Bacon's work under the head of Innovation, "He that Innovats hath need to be verry Wise, for he taxes all Men of Ignorance." To sum up, therefore, the new evidence in favour of the King, and against Gauden, gathered from the internal proofs, we have: 1st, The inference (from the title page of the King not being styled his *late* Majesty, coupled with the simple date, "1648," in place of "Reprinted in Regis Memoriam. 1648;") that the book was printed during his lifetime, the Gauden story being that it was not printed until *after* his death. 2nd, The fact of the frontispiece being the representation of various metaphors in the pages of the work, a point to which Gauden never alludes in support of his claim to be the author of both book *and* figure. 3rd, The explanation of the letters G. D. at the foot of the verses to be Gulielmus Dugard, not Gauden Designed, or Gauden, Dean of Bocking. 4th, The

true origin of the line, "If prayers can give me what the wars deny," or "*Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt*," to be found in Chapter XVIII. of the *Eikon*. 5th, The handwriting of the explanation of the emblem is not that of Gauden, but is in the style of a schoolmaster, which Dugard was. 6th, The blunder of Gauden himself about the Greek motto below the verses referring to Constantine instead of Constantius in his sermon on the 30th January, 1649/50, wherein he distinctly assigns the book to Charles I. 7th, The comparison of the sentences written by the King's own hand in his copy of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (a book which Gauden could never have seen until *after* Charles's death) with the style and method of composition of the *Eikon* itself.

Now to turn to the external evidence that has come to light during the fifty years that have elapsed since Dr. Wordsworth gave to the world the result of his laborious research into this subject. One of the most valuable testimonies to the existence of a "Naseby Copy" (*i.e.*, a copy of the first seven chapters of the *Eikon*, which is said to have been taken by the Parliamentary forces, along with the Royal papers after the battle of Naseby), has lately turned up in the library at Lambeth Palace, where is preserved the copy of this work, formerly in the possession of Archbishop Tenison. On the last page, in the autograph of the owner, is the following Memorandum:—

D[octor] Mew, L[ord] B[ishop] of Winchester, had often told me (& he repeated it again before y<sup>e</sup> B[ishop] of Peterburgh in y<sup>e</sup> B[ishop]s Cha[m]ber on Jan. 30th, 169<sup>b</sup>, bef[ore] we went to West[minster] Abbey, that at Naseby-fight he saw y<sup>e</sup> K[ing]s Closet Keeper before y<sup>e</sup> fight began carry out the Kings papers to y<sup>e</sup> Camp; & yt aft[e]r y<sup>e</sup> Fight he saw divers of them torn, and amo[n]gst these fragm[en]ts took up some pieces of εἰκ[ών] βασ[ιλική] written with y<sup>e</sup> Kings own hand

Tho[mas] Cantuar[iensis].

The existence of this Naseby copy has always been considered to be fatal to Gauden's claim, as he declared that he began to compose the *Eikon* in or about the year 1647, and all his supporters are unanimous in saying that the only papers lost by the King at Naseby were those published by the Parliament, and among these is no trace of the *Eikon*. Many of the arguments are based on the fact that no mention is found of *Eikon Basilike* in any books or correspondence previous to the King's death; but this is manifestly absurd, because the work only received its Greek title at the time of its publication. Dr. Wordsworth produced no less than nine evidences in favour of a Naseby copy, but taken collectively they are not so weighty or decisive as this newly-found Memorandum. It is very strange that Todd, who was Librarian at Lambeth Palace, should have mentioned two copies of the book as being in the Library, and yet should have said nothing of Archbishop Tenison's copy, however damaging to the cause he was seeking to uphold. As however the edition is not an English one, but the Latin translation by Bishop Earle, he may have overlooked it altogether. One argument against the chronological arrangement of the *Eikon* is that events occur in chapters subsequent to the time at which they were apparently composed, and it has been answered that such circumstance is to be explained by the habit of the King to correct and retouch the part already written. But Bishop Mew furnishes us with another and better reason, viz., that the first seven chapters were so injured at the battle of Naseby, that the King must have rewritten them from the recovered fragments, and would naturally

have added and altered many passages. Some considerable evidence, hitherto unknown, has also been found among the papers and official correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to Charles I. and Charles II., which have been lately acquired by the British Museum. He was one of the most confidential servants of the former monarch, and their ciphered correspondence was published by W. Bray in 1818, in his *Evelyn Memoirs* from the originals in the Evelyn Library at Wotton. Half, however, of the letters had never found their way to Wotton, but had remained at West Horsey, in Surrey, the ancient seat of the Nicholas family, and among them are six papers relating to the *Eikon*, a seventh having been found by Bray, at Wotton; and an eighth of the same series having been published by Wagstaffe in his *Vindication of King Charles the Martyr*. It will be necessary for the better understanding of the allusions in the new correspondence to first give a copy of the letter at Wotton, which is slightly earlier than the others:—

SIR,

PARIS, Nov. 6, 1649, St. No.

To giue you an account of the vastnesse of this Packett, give me leaue to tell you that together with this booke which I send you there came in half a score persons of consideration, who with very much passion, desired me to represent to Jersey the high indignity by this base edition offered to our blessed Master, and the great injury rendered to his Majesty that now is.

You will finde a Preface to this Booke which tends to proue that our blessed Master might be, nay, perhaps was a Papist in his heart, notwithstanding this Booke. That what instructions and commands were giuen to his sonne for his firmenesse to the Protestant Religion, were giuen out of politique considerations merely, and many other particulars which I hope will bring it to the hands of the common hangman.

This Marsys is one who setting out the tryall of the late King, and the manner of his murther stiles himselfe "Interprete et Maistre pour la langue Francoise du Roy d'Angleterre regnant a present et de son Altesse Royale le Duc d'Yorke son frere" in which Booke he stiles Queene Elizabeth (of euer blessed memory) Jezabell. He sets downe a false and faignd speech of the Kings at the time of his being murthered; & being charged with it, he said he thought fit to make that speech as spoken by him since the speech he did make was poore and belowe a King. He hath sett forth diuers other things, an extract whereof I shall shortly send you, the least of which would deserue a whipping in England in good times to speake moderately. I presume you will giue this business a thorough sifting there in Councell, and send some directions to Sir Richard Browne how to proceede here. That it may appeare who sett him on worke here, and who giues him these exact coppies which he pretends to haue under the Kings owne hand. And those other peeces of the Kings which he so brags of, and promises he will bring them to light, so soone as he obtaines leaue to publish them. I hope some course wilbe taken that he may be discharged of his titles of relation to the King, and that his Majesty will hereupon giue order that a true copy may be printed in French of his Fathers Booke, declared by him to be authentique, waving both the editions either of Huguenot or Papist, and that this command be grounded upon the ill Editions of both these Persons and Partys.

Indorsed "6<sup>o</sup> Novem: 1649. Concerning Marseis, his translacion of the Kings Booke."

This letter, as printed by Bray, has no signature to it, which has led him to propound a false conjecture as to the writer of it in his note upon its contents. He says, "If it were necessary to enter upon the controversy respecting the authenticity of *Eikon Basilike*, this letter might be adduced as a proof against Bishop Gauden's claim to that work. The wish here expressed was not fulfilled specifically; though afterwards in some measure gratified by the publication of *Eikon Aklastos* in 1651, as a vindication of the original work against the attacks of Eikonoklastes. This letter," he goes on, "was written by Sir Edward Nicholas during his retreat from England after the death of his royal master. He appears to have been then resident with his son-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, who still remained chargé

d'affaires at the French Court." This, of course, is an absurd mistake; the letter in question being not *from* but *to* Nicholas, who was then at Jersey with Charles II. If Bray thought this letter might be adduced as a proof against Gauden's claim, what would he have said had he afterwards discovered the subsequent letter with its two enclosures, which was the direct result of this anonymous appeal. Between the date of the first letter on 6 November, 1649, and the date of the earliest newly discovered one on 4th January, 1650, there appears to have been a letter of the <sup>15</sup><sub>23</sub> November from Nicholas, written in consequence of the first communication and addressed to Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Richard Browne, John Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, and George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, all at this time resident at Paris. This letter apparently has not survived to the present day, or else it is hidden in the private papers of some old family, and will come to light at a future time. Its loss is much to be regretted, as it must have materially strengthened the evidence for Charles I. In consequence of this letter, Sir C. Hatton, Sir R. Browne, Dean Cosin and Morley seem to have sought an interview with Marsys, and which he avoided, until on 4th January, 1650, they are able to announce to Nicholas that they have at last succeeded in speaking with Monsieur Marsys, and they give a lengthy but extremely interesting and valuable account of their proceedings. We learn from their letter that so great was the demand for a French Edition of the *Eikon*, that four thousand copies of a translation by a Monsieur Porrée were already sold within twelve months after the King's death. In the instructions to Sir R. Browne (the draft of which the writers of the letter forward to Nicholas for the Royal approval and signature), Charles II. is made to declare in most distinct and precise words, his belief in his father being the author of the *Eikon*, and one or two words have been added to or corrected in the draft in Nicholas' own hand, proving thereby that it was taken into consideration and acted upon. These additional words are here printed in italics, to draw the reader's attention to them. The second enclosure is also curious and very interesting, especially the remark that Queen Henrietta Maria flung away Marsy's *Histoire de la Persecution présente des Catholiques d'Angleterre* near the time of the first edition on account of the false and slanderous passages against her honour in his Epistle dedicatory unto her. The following is the letter with its two enclosures:—

SIR, In obedience to his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Commands signified vnto us in yours of the 13/23 Novr wee haue at last spoken with Mons<sup>r</sup> Marsys (after some delayes on his Part) To whome wee represented his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Just sense and Indignation against the Preface, Title Page, References and notes annexed to his Translation and Edition of the Booke written by his late Mat<sup>ie</sup> of euer blessed Memory.

Wee asked him upon what grounds, and by whose incouragement, priuity, or advice he presumed to put forth the Advertisement, Preface, and Notes upon that Translation, so boldly and scandalously insinuating that his late Mat<sup>ie</sup> was enclining to Popery.

To which he answered that as he had not been put upon this Worke by any, so had not any person been made aquainted therewith by him before the Impression of his Booke; but that upon generall Conference with those Protestants, and Roman Catholiques, with whom he had conversed, it was thought more advantagious to represent the late King a Roman Catholique then a Puritan as they conceiued Porrée had done, in regard, that it might be a meanes to stirre up the Romish Partie to helpe, and assist his Mat<sup>ie</sup> that now is; which would be of greater concerne ment then any thing the Calvinists or Huguenoits would doe. He further added, That at his first vndertaking he had no intention to Prefixe any Preface, or adde any notes to his Edition, but that he was afterwards prouoked thereunto upon the Sight of Mons<sup>r</sup> Porrées Preface and wilfull Faults in his Translatiōn.

Wee demanded of him; First, why he called the Booke intituled Le Portraict du Roy vn liure Aposté et Diffamatoire, which wee and all others (but himselfe) conceiued To be the Right and true translation of εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ the same being the Title affixed to that Booke when it was first printed in England, and therein translated. The Portraiture of his Sacred Mat<sup>e</sup> as it was likewise rendred Imago Regis Caroli in the Latin Edition set forth in Holland, by the Approbation of his Mat<sup>e</sup> that now is, Marsys himselfe hauing no other Copie to translate by, then those Two that had the same Title, which he calls Aposté &c. And secondly being demanded, why he had not Suppress'd his new Imposed Title, together with his slanderous and bold assertion concerning the Former, which he might haue timely done upon the early Admonition of Sir Richard Browne, giuen him the day after the Titles of his Booke were first affixed to the publique Places of this Cittie, and before any of the Copies were deliuered out at the Printing-house, it being then likewise represented vnto him that in his new Title Page, He did not Charge the Booke entituled le Portrait du Roy &c. to be an ill Translated Booke but a meere Supposititious Booke, and that advantage would from hence be taken, in England, to increase, if not Confirme their Scandalls who gaue it out that εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ was not written by the late King; wherein his boldnesse had been also the greater, in that he had so excessiuely vilified that Edition, which he knew his Mat<sup>e</sup> that now is by his Gracious Expressions, in his Royal Letters to Mons<sup>r</sup> Porrée had well accepted of, in regard both of his Paines and his early readinesse to render that excellent Booke vnto his owne nation in their owne Tongue, although through haste and want of a perfect vnderstanding in the English Tongue some errors and faultes might escape him in that Translation.

His answer to all this was, First, that Porrée had not duly translated the Title of εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ because to Portrait du Roy he had added these words De la Grand' Bretaigne and that thereupon he tooke his advantage to condemne the Booke that bare the Title of Portrait du Roy de la Grand Bretaigne. Secondly he said That (notwithstanding the aforesaid Admonition) the prevailing reason with him, not to suppresse or alter the Title of his Booke, was, because he should haue lost much by it, if he had so done, his primarie Intention being, by this alteration of the Title, to make his owne Edition more vendible and hinder the Sale of Porrées, adding that he repented him he had not done it sooner, in regard there were foure thousand of Porrées Copies already disperst; and that those, with whome he convers'd advised him to goe on, with his former designe, notwithstanding Sr Richard Browne's Admonition.

Being by us demanded, by what Authority he assumed to himselfe, in the Title Page before some of his Printed Bookes, the Style of Interprete & Maistre pour la langue Françoise du Roy d'Angleterre regnant a present et de son Altesse Royal Monseigneur le Duc d'Yorke son frere. He answered he did assume to himselfe that Title by reason he had the Hon<sup>r</sup> to read French to his Mat<sup>e</sup> that now is, when he was Prince of Wales, and was also assigned to the same Employment towards his Highnesse the Duke of Yorke.

Whilst we were in the prosecution of this Businesse, my Lord Bishop of Galloway (who accidentally came in upon a Visit) desyred he might lay it to Marsys Charge, the wronge and Scandal he had done to the Royall Partie of the Scotts by applying to the Whole Nation what the King in the beginning of the 23 Chapter of his Booke restraines onely to Those that deliuered him up: And he accused Marsys to be an unfaithfull Translator, in positively rendring what the King suppositiuely speaks. For whereas in the English the Kings words are Those Scotts and the Latin hath it right Istos Scotos and Mons<sup>r</sup> Porrée truly renders it Ces Escossois, Marsys makes it indefinite Escossois and whereas the King saith, If I am sold, wherevnto the Latin Translation agreeith expressing it Si ab ijs Divendar and Mons<sup>r</sup> Porrée likewise truly renders it Si je suis vendu, And although all the Kings loyall Scotch Partie, and amongst them my Lord Byshop himselfe (as he saith) might and doe belieue in their Particular Judgements, that the King was Sold by that partie of Scotts which deliuered Him up. Yet Mons<sup>r</sup> Marsys had he been a faithfull Translator of the Kings owne words, ought not to haue taken upon him the Libertie to leaue out those Limitations and Conditions wherewith it pleased his Mat<sup>e</sup> to expresse himselfe and by his vnafaithfull Translation render his Mat<sup>e</sup>'s expressions to importe that the whole Scottish nation was guilty of having absolutely sold their King. Wherevnto Mons<sup>r</sup> Marsys (acknowledging that he had for this already been by some Scotchmen publiquely challenged and Questioned in the Streets and threaten'd with Blowes, and indeed not being able to Justifie the Fidelity of his Translation of which he had so much boasted, both in his Preface and elsewhere) answered that He had already resolued to make an Apology for himselfe in that particular onely which he intended to Publish in Print.

We held it not amisse to Charge him further with some of those great Insolencies he hath Committed in all other the Bookes published in his Name, in particular, That in his Booke intituled A Narration of the Tryal and Murder of the late King (in which he had giuen himselfe the Title of Interprete & Maistre de la langue &c.) he calleth Queen Elisabeth an Impious Jezabell with other base expressions concerning Her, And taketh his liberty

not onely to alter and omitt many parts of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Speech vsed at the tyme of his Murder of purpose leauing out those pious expressions which testyfied to the world in what Religion that blessed and Royall Martyr dyed; but likewise to adde of his owne feigning what he thought fitt; and to represent his Sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> as then expressing himselfe in such Language and Passion whereof the very Rebells and Murderers themselues neuer accussed him.

In his Booke intituled Histoire de la Persecution presente des Catholiques d'Angleterre (to which he makes his Marginall Renvoys throughout all the Kings Booke) wee shewed him what vnfitt and scurrilous Language he had vttered of King James of euer blessed Memory, Grandfather to our Soueraigne that now is and of other his Royall Predecessours &c. (some particulars whereof are lined out in the Booke which wee now send) together with many other Passages concerning the Protestants of the Church of England, and the publique Lawes of that Kingdome, very Scandalous to be read and full of Falsehood.

To all which he answered, That he held himselfe obliged so to speake as he had done of Queen Elisabeth, King James &c. as he was a Roman Catholique and that what he had sayd of Protestants referred to the tymes of Queen Elisabeth and King James in which all the Protestants were of that Temper wherein he represented them, which Answer we conceiue to be a great Aggrauation of his Offence by extending those his false and Scandalous expressions to all the Members of the Church of England who liued or dyed during the Reignes of those two famous Princes.

And whereas we are commanded to vse our best endeauours to make stay of the Publishing of the said Translation and Preface; Wee beseech you to represent to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Consideration, That it cannot be expected wee should obteine the Fauour of the State here to Suppresse this Booke even for that very Reason for which wee would suppresse it, which is the Dresse he hath giuen it to fitt the Popish Interest; and if this might haue been hoped it had not been now to be acted, as it hath not been vnconsidered. But there are already so many Copics dispersed that to efface this malitious Scandall Some other course must be taken.

Hauing thus sent you this Accompt of the matter of Fact to the end you may informe his Ma<sup>tie</sup> of our Proceedings herein; wee shall in the next place obey his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commands to certifie what upon Consideration of the whole Businesse we humbly Conceiue fit to be done in it.

We therefore humbly offer as the onely expedient in our Judgement, upon the daily experience of the mischeivous Consequences both here and in England of these Insolencyes of Marsys; That his Ma<sup>tie</sup> will be pleased with the advice of his Councell to put in execution what this Inclosed Letter doth purport, and send the same Vnder his Royall Signet conteyning his commands and Directions in this Businesse vnto S<sup>r</sup> Richard Browne as his Resident and Publique Minister in this Place, which letter wee haue drawne up in obedience to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Commands, signified vnto us by one of yours of a late date.

And this we humbly conceiue to be the onely way now left to repaire the Injuries done by this Marsys and sufficiently to Righte his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in his Pious vindication, not onely of his blessed Father but likewise of his other Royall Predecessours, and Progenitors, together with his own Religious, Pious, and Royall Disposition and Intention.

Which we humbly beseech you to present to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> as a Testimony of our Obedience to his Commands and a Pledge of our Zeale to the euer blessed Memory of our late Royal and blessed Master.

And so wishing you all health and

Happinesse we Remaine

Sr

Your most humble Servants,

Paris 4<sup>th</sup> January.

Anno. 1650. s<sup>o</sup>. n<sup>o</sup>.

Chr: Hatton.

Richard Browne.

Jo: Cosin.

Geor: Morley.

"Right" Trusty and Welbeloued,—Whereas wee haue been informed by diuers Persons (uppon their observation of the publishing and vttering so large a Proportion of that Booke, which was written by our Father of euer blessed Memory, and entituled *εἰκων βασιλικὴ* hauing now passed three Impressions in the French Tongue in Rouen and Paris) That the said Booke is very acceptable vnto the French Nation and much approued and Desired by them in Generall; To the end that Right may be done to the said Booke and satisfaction to all such who justly esteeme and Value it, wee haue thought it agreeable to the great Regard and tender Affection wee beare to the Memory and Honour of our most dear and blessed ffather and to the Right Information of all those who desire to read and make vse of the Truth wisedome and Piety which is Conteyned in that Booke to take into

our Consideration the Seuerall Translations already made thereof into the French tongue wherein wee find that of Monsieur Porrées entituled le Portrait du Roy de la Grand Bretaigne (being a True expression of the Title of our late Fathers Booke) first Printed at Rouen to haue *had* some mistakings, "and Errours" in it, which (as we belieue) escaped him, through haste, and for want of a perfect vnderstanding of the English Tongue, although wee doubt not but his meaning and Intentions were good which wee haue accordingly accepted from him; But whereas there is another pretended Translation, and Edition, set forth by one of that Nation calling himselfe, Le Sieur de Marsys to which he feigns a Title of his owne Invention as followeth; les Memoires du feu Roy de la Grand Bretaigne Charles premier escrits de sa propre main dans sa prison. Ou il est monstre que le liure intitulé Portrait du Roy de la Grand Bretaigne est vn liure Aposté et diffamatoire. Traduits de l'Anglois en nostre Langue par le Sieur du Marsys & enrichis d'Annotations & de Renuoies tres necessaires pour l'Intelligence de l'Ouvrage.

Wee haue seriously considered thereof and forasmuch as wee find that the said Marsys hath not onely boldly altered the True Title of our Deare Fathers Booke (which being stiled *εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ* is not vnproperly translated by Monsieur Porrée le Portrait du Roy de la Grand Bretagne) but likewise insolently averred in his owne New Title Page that the former Booke intituled (as it ought to be) is a Supposititious "Booke" and defamatory Booke, meereley out of an vnworthy designe by his owne Confession to hinder the Sale of Monsieur Porrées Edition, and to deceiue the Buyers by making them belieue that this Edition of his is a new distinct Booke from that sett forth by Monsieur Porrée; And further that the said Marsys hath annexed to the said Booke an Advertisement wherein are many things Scandalous to the Royal Person and Honour of our late ffather; and that he hath been likewise vnfaithfull in his Translation of some particulars, and amongst others of that which concerneth the Scotts whereby he hath cast an Infamy upon the whole Scottish Nation; and hath moreouer added many malitious Annotations together with diuers Renuoies to an Insolent Booke formerly printed by him wee haue therefore thought fit to declare our just Indignation against this his Edition, and to disclaime it.

And whereas this Marsys hath in another Booke intituled a Narration of the Tryall and Murder of the late King (our deare and blessed ffather) taken his licentious liberty to stile himselfe Interprete & Maistre pour la langue Françoise du Roy d'Angleterre Regnant a present et de son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Duc d'Yorke (which wee neuer allowed him) and in the same Booke not onely with false and vnseemely Language to abuse the Person of Queen Elisabeth of Blessed Memory, but to injure also our Deare and blessed ffather by altering the Speech which at the time of his Murther and Martyredome he vttered to the People, therein leauing out particulars of greatest moment Concerning his Honour and representing him with such Language and passion as was much different from that Matie and Christian Piety wherewith he vnderwent that his Cruel and barbarous Martyredome and whereas a third Booke sett forth vnder the said Marsys name hath likewise come to our View intituled Histoire de la Persecution present des Catholiques d'Angleterre, &c.; wherein besides his insolent and malitious Aspersions cast upon other of our Predecessours in the Crowne of England he hath likewise with very false, and Scandalous language abused the Person, and Actions of our most deare Grandfather King James of euer blessed Memory, and throughout the greater part of that whole Booke hath shewed little else but his owne Boldnesse and Ignorance. Therefore (all these foregoeing Particulars Considered) wee haue by the advice of our Councell caused the two last forementioned Bookes set forth in the said Marsys name, together withe the Title Advertisement Notes and Renvoys of the other Booke entituled Les Memoires &c. *being stiled from our fathers said Booke* to be publicquely burnt in our Isle of Jersey by the Hande of the Common Hangman. And wee doe disavow the said Marsys to haue any Relation to our Service enyoyning you to discharge him from assuming to himselfe any title of dependance upon us or our Brother the Duke of Yorke. And to the end that so Inestimable a Jewell as our Fathers Booke is may be rendred to that Nation where you Reside for us, and who entertaine it with due value and esteeme as neere the Pure originall Lustre as may bee, wee haue thought fitt to giue order for a Translation and an Edition thereof to be prepared and Set forth by Mons<sup>t</sup> Testard one of the Pastors of Bloys, an able learned man and well affected both to our blessed ffathers Honour and ours, and to the welfare of the Church of England. The Care in procureing whereof according to the True originall Copie wee haue Committed vnto our Chaplain D<sup>r</sup> Cosin Deane of Peterborough. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is that you our said Resident shall as our publique Ministre take Notice hereof and upon all fitting occasions and opportunityes according to your iudgement and discretion shall divulge and Publish as well the Censures wee haue executed upon the said Bookes of Marsys as likewise our auowing and approuing of this Edition of Monsieur Testards Translation; wherein you shall give *your* assistance to further and Promote it in our name and Interests, and upon all occasions shew such Respect and Kindnesse to the said Mons<sup>t</sup> Testarde

and any other whome he shall employ for the Publishing thereof as may agree with his and their Juste desires, or your carefull and Reasonable performance; And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Giuen vnder our  
at Castle Elizabeth In our Island of Jersey.

To our Trusty and Welbeloued  
S<sup>r</sup> Richard Browne Kn<sup>t</sup> &  
Baronet Our Resid<sup>t</sup>.

Scandalous Passages false Traductions  
and Contradictions in Marsys Booke  
styled Les Memoires &c. ;  
In the Kings Portraiture

He takes away the Crowne of Glory which was in the English and Latin Copie.

In his Title Page.

1. The Change of the True Title of the Booke first printed in England and after in Holland in English and Latin.
2. His averring in his Title Page that the Booke Intituled Portrait du Roy &c. is a Counterfeit and supposititious Booke.
3. His Boldnesse in making many impertinent and diuers malitious Annotations upon his Mat<sup>ies</sup> Booke and therein adding Renyoys vnto a Scandalous Booke formerly set forth vnder his the said Marsys name.

In his Preface

He takes upon him to tell the world that the King made no title to his Chapters in the Originall Booke which is more then he could say truly, for by his owne Confession he had not the sight of any other Copie but what was set forth in English and Latin where those titles of Chapters were printed in the third Person which as a Translator he ought to haue followed.

In the Advertisement.

1. In the fourth Page his falsehood in averring Que le Roy en d'autres endroits ne se sert pas de ce Terme (Papistes) mais de celuy de Catholique Romain, whereas the King throughout his whole Booke giues them no other Appellation but that of Papists.
2. Ibidem. Another false Assertion in saying that the Church of England hath retayned the same order and the same government with that Catholique Church which everywhere in his Bookes (as he confessed in his Conference with us) he understands to be the Roman Church.
3. Ibidem. A third false Assertion that there is no Community or Resemblance either in doctrine or in Gouvernment between the Protestants of England and those whome he Calls Calvinists.
4. Ibidem. A fourth fal[s]e Assertion that of a good Protestant they may as easily make a (Roman) Catholique as a Riseing Sunne of a faire Morning.
5. A Calumny upon the blessed king where raising to himself an objection that some perhaps will say the King paroist Protestant he answereth that though he had not been a Protestant it concerned him to write as he hath done for reason of State to take away the Accusation of those that said he was a (Ronian) Catholique in his heart whereby Marsys doth not onely attempt to make it doubtfull of what Religion the King was, but to Render him also a most notorious Hypocrite in his life and death.
6. Another, that where the king exhorts his Sonne to be firme in the Protestante Religion it may be believed it was for feare onely he should be Come a Calviniste whereas it is euident that the king mentioneth no Calvinist in that whole Chapter but exhorts him from the Pompe of that superstitious Tyrranie (and whome that meant Marsys knew well enough) and from the meanes of Fantasticke Anarchie whome all the world knowes to bee "whome all the world knowes" y<sup>e</sup> new Anabaptistical Sects.
7. Another Calumny Que le Roy ne Choque Jamais les Catholiques (Romains) que pour Reiller les Heretiques (Calvinistes).
8. Where he makes an apologie for the late horrid Rebellion in Irelande, with these words Quelle Religion n'a point ceste Maxime de Chercher la libert<sup>e</sup> de Conscience as if it were lawfull to seeke the same (as they did) by Rebellion.
9. A sawcy Contradiction giuen to the king by a petulant Retortion of his Mat<sup>ies</sup> owne wordes in saying that les Irelandois font bien voir a present que les Catholiques (Romains) ont des maximes qui authorisent moins la Rebellion, que celles des Heretiques.
10. He sayth that the Popish Irish sont les seuls sujets des Isles Britanniques qui soient a present fideles à leur Roy by which impudent assertion he excludes from all fidelity to the king not onely the Marquis of Ormond

and all other Protestants with in his Army and Guarisons in Ireland, but also all and euery other his Maties Protestant Subjetts whomesoever in England and Scotland together with the Isles of Man and Jersey (which are as Britanniue as Ireland) thereby numbring them all among the Rebells and Traitors to the King.

11. That the Kings Booke is so full of Invectiues against the Calvinistes as if he had Composed his Booke to Confound them only whereas the King in all his Booke nameth them not.

12. Pretending to Recite the Kings words concerning Churchwindowes, Crosses and Inscriptions upon the Monuments of the Dead, he repeats them vntruly and inferres from them the kings defence of Popery and Superstition which is cleane differente from the expresse Termes and Sense of his Maties Booke.

13. He reproves the Translator of Rouen for hauing an ill designe, because he sought not his Maties leue to Translate the Booke nor Communicated his Traduction to the English at Rouen before he printed it, whereby he makes an argument against himselfe of his owne ill designe, who by his owne Confession (to us) was guilty of both these faults, which he blames in Mons<sup>r</sup> Porrée.

14. The Sentence that Marsys giues of Monsieur Porrées booke is, Ceux qui ont ce liure diffamatoire sont obliges d'Inuiter Plusieurs Personnes d'honneur et de tendre Conscience qui l'ont mis au feu and when his Title Page, Advertisement, Annotations, and Translations are well perused this will appeare a good Paterne for a Censure upon his workes.

15. That which the King calls Inscriptions of the Dead (as Marsys himselfe reads it in his Translation of that Place) is in this Advertisement out of opposition to Porrée translated Epitaphs des Catholiques (Romains).

16. Vndertaking to proue that the Booke called Portrait du Roy is Counterfeit he acknowledgeth that both it and that of his owne are taken from one and the same Originall, and yet that one of them (meaning Porrées) is not the Kings.

17. He pretends to haue seen the kings manuscript and from thence inferres that the additionall Peices concerning the Discourse of the King to his Childeren, the Duke of Glocester and the Princesse Elizabeth are malitiously annexed to the Second Edition of Porrées Translation, who therein followed the Copie Imprinted in Engiland giuen vnder that Princesse owne hand, which this Marsys Sawcily Sensureth to be partiall and absurd, as well for the Kings Recommendation of the Bookes there named to her, as for her Incapacity to vnderstand the smallest rudiments of Christianity.

18. He is too bold to owne and Publish to the world his knowledge or sight of another Booke Composed by the King which himselfe Confesseth for Certaine Reasons is not yet to be set forth, but insinuateth that hereafter he shall be the man who shall set it forth.

In a short view that we tooke of his Translation wherein he boasteth to haue been so religuously exact that he hath not altefed nor taken away one Iota we find as followeth.

Chap. 1. he translateth the words other Gentlemen la plus Part des Membres;

Ibidem. Whereas the King saith—the Health of all States and kingdomes *Marsys saith* States onely and leaues out kingdomes.

Chap. 7, parag. 8. Impudence is translated D'Imprudence.

Ibidem. The Kings words—Wee doe not much blame the vnkindnesse of the generallity & vulgar, Marsys translateth Puisque nous Cognoissons que le general en est Innocent.

Ibidem. to the Kings words—of eating our bread headds—Comme on dit.

Chap. 8. Parag. 10 being Compared with the Kings booke, Marsys Translation appeareth to be very defective.

Chap. 12. Whereas the King saith—By how much protestant Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes then those of Papists. Marsys rendereth these words—Que les Principes des Protestants asseurent plus les Monarques contre la Rebellion que Ceux des Papistes: Wherein he Committeh the same fault that in his advertisement he blameth in Porrée for not observing the literall Translation of this particular Place.

Chap. 15. The King vseth fourt tymes the wordes papists, and Marsys thrice translateth it Catholique Romain ; of which distinction framed onely by himselfe he maketh a vaine and false vse, in his advertisement against Porrée, and to make good this his feigned difference doth in one and the same paragraph of this Chapter render the word Papists by the Terme of Romane Catholique in the first part thereof and Papist in the latter.

Chap. 23. Where the King restraines his words to those Scotts, that deliuere him up, Marsys enlargeth his translation to Escossois in generall. And where the King saith, If I am sold which is conditionall Marsys turnes it absolutely, le Regret que i'ay d'estre vendu.

## In his Annotations and Renvoys.

Page 2. Where the kinge speaketh of his interest in Religion, Marsys saith it is because he tooke upon him the Title of Head in Spirituall Matters against which (though the King never tooke that title) he inveigheth in his Booke, whereunto he referreth.

Pag. 35. Where the king Speaketh of his prayers and Teares, Marsys addeth his Note, that they were vnprofitable, if they came not from the heart.

Pag. 38. Where the King referreth to himselfe in naming the Restored Glory of the Suns height after his Ecclypse Marsys noteth it in his Margent for a Clinch saying SVN Qui signifie Soleil en Anglois signifie aussi fils; le Roy par cette Equivoque touche elegament le Restablissemant du Roy d'a present son fils.

Page 39. He makes his boldnesse and sayth It seemeth the King foresaw that God could not saue him without a Miracle.

Page 47. At the King's word Papist Marsys noteth, that the King doth not say Catholiques, and yet in his Advertisement he plainly saith that he did vse this word here, and Referres to this very place.

Page 48. The Kings Words against the Irish Rebels—Ce peuple estant desia assez disposé a des violences exorbitantes, tant per quelques maximes de leur Religion &c. Marsys to excuse them noteth La Reyne Elizabeth a fort persecutè les Irelandois. And upon the words Maximes—De repouster la force, Qui vous Constraint dans vostre Religion, cette Maxime est commune a toute Sorte de Religions. A bold and a false note (especially upon the Kings words) and againe les Irelandois se resouuenent des cruautes que les Protestants auoient exerces sur eux se vangerent par cette occasion, qu'ils entrouerent. As if this were a just excuse for their rebellion.

Page 78. Vpon the Kings words, l'orgueil de quelque gens, Marsys makes this note Luther and Calvin & les Autres Princes et estats qui ont embrassé leur nouvelle doctrine, As if the Kings expression had Reference to them.

Page 122. Where the King expressest himselfe cleerely as in many other places in his Booke for his Sonnes Constancy in the Protestant Religion of the Church of England Marsys noteth in his margin, Il entend la Religion Chrestienne en general.

## In Monsieur Marsys his Histoire de la Persecution presente &amp;c.

There will be found in those seuerall Places wee haue scored with red Inke many false and slanderous Passages.

1. Against the Realme of England.
2. Against the honour of the Queen of Great Bretagne in his Epistle dedicatory vnto her for which she flung it away nere the tyme of the First Edition.
3. Against King Henry the 8th.
4. Against Queen Elizabeth.
5. Against King James.
6. Against King Charles.
7. Against the lawes of England.
8. Against the Judges of England.
9. Against the Church of England.

## In his Processe Concerning the Kings Death.

1. Marsys vndertaking (in his title [Title] Page) to translate the English Copie faithfully which he performeth not.

2. Au Lecteur. He pretends that the Kings Ennemis sett forth that Relation in English, and that y<sup>e</sup> Translation of Rouen followed a false Copie yet Marsys himselfe had no other.

3. He giveth notice to the world of his Booke (called the Persecution of England) that it might be enquired after and sell the better.

4. Page the 8. He calls Queen Eliz:[abeth] an Impious Jezabell (which he found not in his Copie).
5. Pag. 9. He adds 24 lines of his owne head to abuse the Kingdome and King Henry the 8.
6. Page 11 & 12. He alters all the Kings Speech omitts a great part of it, and makes his last words to be spoken in a disordered Passion Tenez Traistres.
7. Page 13 & 14. Of the fwe Paragraphs that follow, those are added of his owne head, who promised in his Title to be a faithfull Translatour.

A period of ten years now elapses in the Nicholas Papers before any further allusion to the *Eikon* is to be found, but only ten days before Charles II. returns to take possession of his kingdom, he writes a brief note to Monsieur Porrée, who figures so often in the letter with its enclosures just given. In the note the King thanks Porrée for apparently a new French translation of the *Eikon*, which he still calls his father's book. The letter is the original draft revised and corrected, and consequently does not bear the King's stamp or signature.

Breda, May 20, 1660.

MONSIEUR PORRÉE,

Jay tousjours souhaitte de voir le liure du feu roy Mon Pere en beau francois et vous auez touché mes souhaits cela et le soin que vous auez de desabuser le monde en ce qui est de la fermete de ma creance marque "nt" asses laffection que vous faites profession d'auoir pour moy et dont "jay tire" vous mauez donné beaucoup de preueus; aussy vous puisje assurer que j'en ay tout le ressentiment qu'il faut et comme je pretends de dementir par ma constance dans la religion " protestant " Reformee tous les faux bruits que mes ennemis ont malicieusement fait courir a mon " deso " preiudice " par ma constance dans la Religion Protestante " : vous deues croire que je noublieray pas les bons offices que vous me rendes en repoussant ces calomnies qui mattaquent par ou je suis le plus " le plus " sensible, et que je seray tousjours.

Endorsed "A MONSIEUR PORRÉE."

At the close of the same year, 1660, on 29th November, Charles II. granted to Royston, the publisher (who had printed the first edition of the *Eikon*), the monopoly of printing his father's works, and in the patent calls that book "the most excellent discourses and soliloquies of our blessed Father." Among the Nicholas Papers is a printed broadside containing the original advertisement of this complete edition, which unhappily perished a few years later in the celebrated Fire of London. It runs thus:—

" M.S.  
Sanctissimi Regis, & Martyris Caroli.  
Siste Viator.  
Luge, Obmutesce, Mirare !  
Memento Caroli Illius  
Nominis pariter, & Pietatis Insignissimæ, Primi  
Magnæ Britannia Regis :  
Qui Rebellum Perfidia primo Deceptus  
Dein Perfidorum Rabie Percussus  
Inconcussus tamen Legum & Fidei Defensor,  
Schismaticorum Tyrannidi Succubuit.  
Anno  
Salutis Humanæ, MDCXLVIII.  
Servitutis Nostræ, } Primo,  
Fælicitatis Suæ, }  
Corona Terrestri Spoliatus, Cælesti Donatus.  
Sileant Autem Perituræ Tabellæ  
Perlege Reliquias, ære Sacras, Carolinas,  
In Queis,  
Sui Mnemosynem, ore perenniorem  
vivacius exprimit  
Illa, Illa,  
**EIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.**

" This is placed with his Majesties Pourtraicture in St. Olaves Silver Street Church,  
in London, with his Works in Folio under it."

Sir Edward Nicholas has left behind him a great many memoranda on various subjects, some political, some theological, &c.; written on backs of envelopes addressed to himself, or on any little scraps of paper he happened to have by him. These are in many cases exceedingly interesting and important, especially some autobiographical notes of his chequered career. But on the back of an envelope addressed to him while in exile, and on some blank sheets of letter-paper, are about a dozen pages of moral and religious maxims and apophthegms, borrowed chiefly from the Bible. Interspersed among them are three sentences selected from "the King's Book." They do not appear to have been copied from any printed edition of that work, as the reference is to folios, not pages. First he quotes from Chapter VIII. of the *Eikon*, "The excesse of impotent passions iniures a man more than his greatest enemies can. K[ing]es booke. 56." Secondly, from Chapter XI., "Tumults are the hounds that attend the cry and hollow of those men, who hunt after faccions and priuat designs to the ruyne of Church and State. K[ing]es booke. fol. 97." (This quotation from *fol.* not *page* 97, brings to remembrance that Nicholas Oudart, Secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas, is said to have transcribed the King's original manuscript for the press, and it is not at all unlikely that Sir E. Nicholas had this MS. copy by him while making these extracts from the *Eikon*.) Thirdly, from Chapter XII., "The goodness of mens intentions will not excuse the scandall and contagion of ill examples. K[ing]es booke. 105." Here in this quotation is a slight variation from the printed copies, which read "*their* examples," instead of "*ill* examples;" another proof that Sir E. Nicholas was citing a manuscript, not a printed copy. These moral and religious memoranda were most likely written during his leisure moments, after his retirement from the Secretaryship of State, and therefore some years subsequent to the date of his letter to Gauden found among the North Papers, which has been supposed by the Bishop's supporters to show Nicholas' knowledge of the true author of the *Eikon*. On none, however, of these papers of Sir E. Nicholas is there the slightest note or endorsement by him to show that he knew the opinions and sentiments expressed in them respecting the *Eikon* and Charles I. to be either mistaken or false, or that he had ever heard of or been made acquainted with Gauden's claim.

The only remaining document as yet unnoticed among the Nicholas Papers is an English letter from John Earles, Chaplain to Charles II., in which he dedicates to him his Latin translation of the *Eikon*. It is undated, but must have been written about the summer of 1649. The Latin copy of this letter is printed before all the Latin editions of the *Eikon*, but the English one is slightly fuller, and being the original of the Latin, and apparently unpublished, may be useful in support of the King's cause:—

TO THE KINGS MOST SACRED MAJESTY.

May it please your Mat<sup>e</sup>.

To receive into your gratiouse protection this image and pourtract of your glorious Father (wherein he is nearer the similitude of God then as he is either a man or king) which though it appeare in a forraigne dresse and colour, yet it is such, as will make it more visible, and by consequence more publicke; for so I understood your Majesties pleasure was, that it should be deliuuered to the world in a language common to the most part of the

world: wherein I heartily wish I could haue done your Maj<sup>ty</sup> that satisfactory service, as to haue rendered it in that naturall elegancy, and cleere and lively expressions, wherewith the admirall originall aboundeth; which as it may puzzle the best master of language, soe it is much too hard for me; And yet as it is, I conceiue it much better, that it should even thus discoloured, and with some blemish of its lustre and excellency, converse with the greatest part of Europe, then to be confined to a few of his owne nation, and be silent to all the world besides; since there are here (if I may speake it with reurence) some of those great things of God, which it concernes mankind to be made publique in all languages.

I have endeavoured according to my small ability to render it, if not in the same beauty, yet with the greatest truth and perspicuity, being not willing to depart from the very phrase and stile, so farr as the different Idiome of y<sup>e</sup> Latin would permitt me; since of so sacred a booke, as this is, we ought to be religious interpreters. And truly next that most sacred booke (w<sup>ch</sup> admitts of no comparisons) I hope it will be no boldnes to say, that never any merely humane worke has deserued so much esteeme, either for y<sup>e</sup> author or the argument.

Certainly the piety of Royall Persons deriuers something from the height of their condition and has somewhat more noble and divine and w<sup>ch</sup> challenges a greater power over the soules of men, and is received with more reverence then those of inferior ranke and quality, for which cause God himselfe has been pleased in those parts of Scripture, w<sup>ch</sup> more particularly belong to his worship, and are of perpetuall vse in the Church (such as Psalmes and Himmes and Prayers are) to make Princes his Instruments in the composing and conveying them to the world, to adde the more authority & Majesty vnto them. Men generally take vp devotion with a much better appetite when it is thus offered and presented; As we see by experience in this very Booke, w<sup>ch</sup> all that vnderstood it were very much affected with, and wil be euery day much more, when being put into more languages it shalbe more vnderstood.

A rare and admirable thing it was thus to meditate, thus to compose, but a thing of much more admiration to liue, and to dye so: that these great expressions of piety, w<sup>ch</sup> may seeme too bigg for any mans thought, were outdone by this great example. This that vnhappy part of the world, the most sinfull at this day, and the most polluted, is too sad a wittnes of. Oh how well had it been for them if they had sooner vnderstood that excellent vertue which now too-too late they admire & deplore, since it hath past the tryall of that terrible fornace, the greatest calamity to vs, but to him the greatest blessednesse imaginable, even that last and saddest part of his life, and that fatal day (wherein he was made a spectacle to men and angells, and gave such excellent proofs of a strong faith, & most invincible courage and constancy standing above all his sufferings and all the malice of Hell heaped together) was beyound all the glories and tryumphs of earthly Princes. You have done nothing, O you of all mankind the —— ! (but I will not speake any horrible word in the entrance of so holy a Booke, nor make them the object of my curse, that are so much a part of his prayers) you have done nothing I say in this murder, but only joyned his Glory and Immortality with your owne eternall shame and reproach! Never any King since the Creation was lamented with so many true teares, extolled with so hearty and vnfayned applauses. Never did any in his most flourishing condition, extort from the feare, or buy from the flattery of their subjects those false & lying commendations, as were freely paid to his afflictions, to his overthrowes, to his Prison, to his Scaffold, and that direfull & dismal Axe, wherewith he astonished his Enemys dying, and tryumphed over his murderers.

In the meantime I doubt not but your sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> (who are the true & lively Portraict of your Royall Father, whose greatest happinesse in his prosperity, & greatest comfort in adversity was, that he had such a sonne in whom he cannot dye) will take flame from this example, not to revenge his death only (to which it may become others to incite you rather than myselfe), but to imitate that Heroicall virtue and constancy, and to take possession of that (whereof no force can deprive you against your will) the Inheritance of Religion and Piety. And as you are of tender affections to all those that have neer Relations to you, so I hope you will be pleased to extend them in some measure to this Booke, a Child of the same Father. "Prov: 7-4. Say vnto wisedome thou art my sister, and to vnderstanding thou art my kinswoman." Advise with it. Converse with it, and transfuse it into thy very soule and spirit. You see the eyes of all men cast upon you, all the hopes of good men fixed in you, all their liues depending on you, which noe doubt many men had long since out of y<sup>e</sup> extremity of their calamitys abandoned, but that they reserved them merely to employ in your service. A great businesse attends you great expectation great difficultys and such as require a greater taske and proportion of virtue then was before in any of your Predecessors. Whether there shall be a Kingdome any more in Brittany, whether Religion, whether Men, whether God againe, depends merely vpon your virtue, your fortune or rather your fortune vpon Gods mercy, of the necessity of whose present assistance as your Ma<sup>tie</sup> must needs be now more sensible, so I doubt not but that you will labour to procure it by all the dutys of Piety and Religion, and that all these happy seedes (so abundantly shed in your

Royall breast) of Justice, Temperance, Prudence, and Goodnesse, may be nourished heightened and ripened to perfection, that God at length appeased and wholly reconciled may be graciously pleased to add that to your Ma<sup>tie</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he tooke from your Father, and to recompence his sorrowes in redoubled blessings, that you may be called That Restorer, w<sup>ch</sup> is the hope and desire of all, and the most earnest & fervent prayer of

Your Majys  
most humble and devoted  
Subject and Chaplaine,  
JOHN EARLES.

It is a curious fact that the writer of this letter succeeded Gauden in the bishopric of Worcester, and yet so far as is known he never uttered any opinions or left any writings to show that he altered in the slightest degree his belief so strongly expressed in his dedication of his Latin edition that Charles I. had composed the *Eikon*. To sum up, therefore, the new external evidence during the last fifty years in behalf of the Royal Author, we have—1st, The holograph memorandum of Archbishop Tenison in his copy of Earles' Latin translation now in the Lambeth Library, which completely establishes, on the evidence of a most credible eye-witness, the existence of a Naseby copy, a fact alone sufficient to extinguish utterly Gauden's story of his forgery. 2nd, The letter with its two enclosures from Sir C. Hatton, Sir R. Browne, Dean Cosin, and Morley, which alludes more than once to the King's original manuscript as if still in existence, and about to be entrusted to Dean Cosin's keeping. 3rd, The letter from Charles II. to Porrée ten years later, on the eve of his Restoration, in which he again terms the *Eikon* the book of the late King, his Father. 4th, The original broadside advertisement of the new edition of the work in December, 1660, published under Royal patronage by Royston (a month subsequent to Gauden's first appeal to Charles II.), wherein it is described at length as the work of Charles I. 5th, The three selections by Sir E. Nicholas *after* 1663 from the King's Book, where he evidently quotes not a printed book, but a Manuscript Copy. 6th, The English original of John Earles' Latin dedicatory letter of his translation.

In conclusion, to show how base a timeserver Bishop Gauden was, and how utterly unfit he was to concoct such a forgery, it will be necessary to reproduce an unpublished letter written by his own hand in the name of himself and his wife to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, the younger son of Oliver Cromwell, at that time Lord Protector. It occurs in the correspondence of Henry Cromwell, now preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, No. 822, f. 1:—

My Lord the renowne of your Lordships gouernment with such piety justice and clemency as giues life and recoverie to that state of Ireland which was lately languishing & dying. This (just Honor) hath made many your Lordships admirers who (yet) are humbly obseruant of that distance wherein they stand to your Lordships eminent place and authority noe lesse than your virtues; In this number I may owne my selfe and my wife whose great content it is to heare of that happines which your Lordship and your Lady enjoy; and to find by that Gentleman who lately came from your Lordship that wee alsoe are see happy as to reteine some place in your memorys and fauours of which he gaue vs soe particular assurance that wee haue taken this Confidence to expresse our thankfull sense of that honor your Lordship and your Lady are pleased to doe vs when you voutsafe to think a kind thought of vs as persons condemned to obscurity; never to bee releiuied except by such a barren way of industry as is sometimes giuen mee by such sad occasions as that of my nephew Will Russells and Mr. Rob. Richs death. To the vrne of this last I haue beene invited by your Lordships Sister the Lady Frances to Consecrate a litle monument; which possibly may (as marble) bee durable though it bee fruitlesse; vnlesse it bee productive of your Lordships

fauour and acceptance, beyond that degree which it expects in England; The fate of books is like that of many trees to bring forth nothing but leaues. Being not read by many and valedewed by few especially if they strike vpon just securities becoming all good Christians and wise to lay to heart; Noe discouragements in England haue hindred mee from presenting my sense of otheres deathes & my owne mortallity to your Lordships view. The rather because I haue heard that your Lordship hath beene a noble asserter of our Richs honor even in Ireland; The vindication of which I willingly vndertook against a great stremme of vulgar credulitie; Being satisfied in this that I did the part of justice & gratitude to the dead; My ambition must bee to perorme such actions as are their owne reward; among which I hope this is one; a copy of which I adventure upon your Lordships and your Ladys acceptance; who in your highest secular advancements carry soe moderate a temper of minde & actions as willingly reflects vpon the end of all these momentary dreams; It is some recompense to my paines that I haue hereby an opportunity to expresse to your Lordship & your excellent Lady how much wee are ambitious to live worthy of that fauour your Noblenesses were pleased to expresse to

Your Lordships very  
Humble Servants,  
JOHN ELIZABETH GAUDEN.

LONDON,  
May 24,  
1658.

The address on the back of the letter is:—

These  
to the right Honourable  
the Lord Deputy of  
Ireland,  
present.

In another hand, probably that of Henry Cromwell, is the endorsement:—

24 May 58.  
MR. JO. GAUDEN.

If this fulsome letter from Gauden and his wife to one of the chiefest men in that Commonwealth which had taken the place and usurped the functions of the supposed Royal author of the *Eikon* be compared with the Bishop's letters, written within three years from this date, to the Lord Chancellor Hyde and the Earl of Bristol, the comparison will prove at once profitable and suggestive. In his earlier letter he thus speaks of books: "The fate of books is like that of many trees, to bring forth nothing but leaves. Being not read by many and valued by few, especially if they strike upon just securities becoming all good Christians and wise to lay to heart." But in his later letter to Hyde, on 21st Jan., 1660-1: "When it [his book, the *Eikon*] came out, just upon the King's death, Good God! what shame, rage and despite filled his Murtherers! What Comfort his friends! How many enemies did it Convert! How many hearts did it mollify and melt! What devotions it raysed to hys posterity, as children of such a father! What preparations it made in all mens minds for this happy restauration, and which I hope shall not prove my affliction! In a word, it was an army, and did vanquish more than any sword could." Again, in his letter to H. Cromwell (the son of the chief of those men whom he calls in the passage just quoted the King's *Murtherers*), he writes: "We have taken this Confidence to express our thankful sense of that honour your Lordship and your Lady are pleased to doe us when you vouchsafe to think a kind thought of us, as persons condemned to obscurity." But in his letter to Lord Bristol, of the 20th March, 1661-2, he uses the same expression to the most influential person in the Court of the *murdered* King's son: How

much I have of gratitude and honour for you whose eminent lustre hath condescended to owne hym whom some men [*i.e.*, Clarendon and Morley] have banished to soe great an obscurity." One more quotation is sufficient. In his letter to H. Cromwell he says: "My ambition must bee to performe such actions as are their owne reward." In his letter to Lord Bristol, of 27th March, 1662, he tells us his actions during the Commonwealth were by no means of that nature, but that he was "Sufficiently knowne to all the English world by those many great and publique works I had done in my spheare to the hazard of my estate, liberty and life, in order to preserve and restore the just interest of the Church and Crown in the worst of times and things. Both enemies and friends saw me always standing in the gap with a bold and diligent loyalty, doing my duty by preaching, printing, and acting to the great vexation and confusion of those tyrants and usurpers." Among the chief of these tyrants and usurpers was Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, his patron and friend only three years before. And yet this Gauden is the man whom, on his own unsupported testimony (for his wife and his curate, Dr. Walker, only derive their evidence and story second-hand from him), so many credulous persons, too indolent to inquire or examine for themselves, believe to have been the sole composer and author of the *Eikon Basilike*, a work which bears on every page the peculiar stamp of Charles's mind and habit of thought, and which betrays over and over again an intimate acquaintance with passing events to the minutest details, which could only have been known to the King. It were a fitting tribute to the memory of Bishop Gauden that the letter from himself and his wife should be written in letters of brass, and placed along with his effigy in Worcester Cathedral, to accompany the *Eikon Basilike* which he there holds in his hands, or at least that sentence of the letter which almost sounds prophetic of his own tomb: "A little monument, which possibly may, as marble, be durable, though it be fruitless."

EDWARD SCOTT.

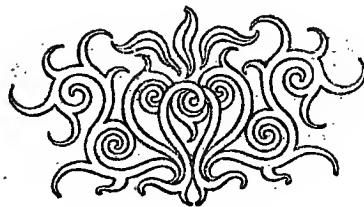
30 Jan., 1880.

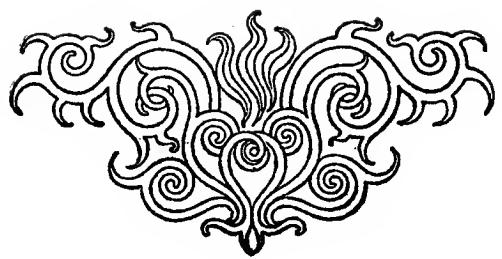
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The bibliography of this bibliography is soon told. When my paper had been read to the Bibliographical Society, and it was proposed to print it as a monograph, some friends said, in effect, "Do not put back into port so quickly, however good the anchorage, but sail on your voyage; stow a much larger cargo, and finally come to berth in a wider, though not better, harbour." I then interviewed the publishers, Messrs. Blades, East & Blades, who agreed to issue the work by subscription, and take any pecuniary risk; I, knowing that a large outlay would be involved, agreeing to present the fruits of my research to the public *con amore*, unless untold wealth should be forthcoming from the production. We both have stuck to our guns, and neither labour nor gold has been

spared in producing a volume not to be met with on every day's march. From the first, Mr. Alfred Blades arranged for one compositor to set up every line of the book. That good man is not yet in Hanwell, but he has had many a hard fight with the story of the King's Book. One evening, to rest his brain with a change of subject, he took up the *Daily News*. Unfortunately he read of the little differences just then troubling two Eastern nations, and that night he had a fearful nightmare : I was standing over him whilst he set up a description from—*an “Eikon” in Chinese!*

This book has been written amongst manifold interruptions, and only in hours that could be spared from important and more profitable labours, or at holiday time. Sometimes, whilst my thoughts are two hundred and fifty years away with the inconsolable little Princess Elizabeth, a curly-lock'd little girl climbs my knee with “Father, we want you to come and play with us. When will my copy be ready, and will it have a picture of a rocking-horse?” Not such a vain idea, for 'tis my hobby-horse, and will rock others to sleep for very weariness.





Descriptions  
of the various Editions of  
Eikon Basilike.



## I.

*Measurement*:—Binding 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ : text 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 3.

*Size of type*:—12 point.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to S in eights (S 8 is blank).  
the second is numbered in error A 4.)

(First leaf of Contents is lettered *A* 2, and  
(See Water-marks, p. 68.)

*Paging*:—1-269.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Title page (as fac-simile).

Eikon Basiliæ.

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THE  
POVRTRAICTVRE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITVDES  
AND  
SVFFERINGS.

---

Rom. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

---

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

---

M.DC.XLVIII.

*Another copy*, in plain old calf, uncut edges, evidently exactly as issued by the publisher.

It has the modern name “E. ROEDER,” and, in old MS., the following note, “Empt: February 13th 1649 pret. iiij6.”

*Another copy*.—There is printed above the date line on the Title page, “LONDON, | Printed  
for R. Reyson in Ivie-lane.” (See p. 22.)

Verso blank. Contents 2 leaves. Recto  
of next blank, with Errata on verso. Text,  
pp. 1-269, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ  
bella negârunt. | FINIS.” Verso of 269  
blank. 1 blank leaf. Chapter 28 is not  
numbered in Contents nor in text.

The distinguishing point of this, which is prob-  
ably absolutely the earliest edition, is that sheet  
G is wrongly pagged, the numbers running—91,  
82, 83, 94, 95, 86, 87, 98, 99, 90, 91, 102, 103,  
94, 95, and 109.

None of the Errata corrected.

The text runs similarly in this and No. 13.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—“M. C. DOCKRAY  
from The Rev<sup>D</sup>. W. B. HASTINGS | Jany.  
1852.” | “OLIVER BOTELER 1650.” |  
“SARAH SHAW.” | “For my LADY  
BOTELER.”

*Another copy*.—“R. ABDY.”—1 blank  
leaf at beginning and 2 at end. Double  
page plate (evidently inserted later).

*MS. Inscription*.—“R. ABDY | 1705.”

*Another copy*.—“IANE BURTON.”—  
No blank leaves remaining at begin-  
ning, but 3 at end.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—“IANE BURTON.” |  
“IANE ELMES.”

All the above on thick paper, gilt edges, and  
bound in black morocco, with the same gilt tooling  
on each. In the first mentioned some sheets  
have been folded before the ink was quite dry.

*Another copy*.—Not on thick paper. Bound  
with it is *Eikon Basiliæ Deutera*, lack-  
ing Title page. Binding plain calf.

I saw at Messrs. Sotheby's in June, 1892, a  
copy also on the ordinary thin paper, bound in  
plain old calf. They had catalogued it £10 10s.,  
and they sold it at once. It bore the following  
*old MS. Inscriptions*:—“THO: NOBLE.” |  
“From Nunnery.”

4.

¶ Jeremias Eines Barlaul. Gill his Booke

THE  
POVRTRAICTVRE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SVFFERINGS.

William Rom. 8. :  
More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & malapati, Regium est.

Jeremias  Gill 1686

M.DC.XLVIII

**2.**—*A later issue of the preceding.*—It is exactly the same edition as that just described (not the last mentioned copy with the imprint), except that the pagination of sheet G has been corrected. This has no blank leaves remaining at the beginning, but has two at the end. It is not on thick paper, and is bound in old calf, which seems to have suffered from fire. (*See Water-marks*, p. 69.)

*MS. Inscriptions:*—“CHARLES CLARK.” | “J. B. DEROIN D’ORLEANS.” Book-plate of “JOHN MAC DONELL.”

Mr. BARWICK, who compiled the Charles I part of the B. M. Catalogue, has written in it for me:—“This copy is a duplicate of the one in the British Museum (E. 1096), which bears Thomason’s note on the fly-leaf—‘The first impression’—and his MS. date (near the year on the Title page) ‘Feb. 9<sup>th</sup>.’—G. F. BARWICK, British Museum, 6 July, 1892.”

The Rev. GEORGE T. S. FARQUHAR has kindly lent me the copy in the Perth Cathedral Library, which was “presented by Right Rev. C. Wordsworth, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of the Diocese. 1887.” In a letter from “Mr. Baily to Mr. Olde,” pasted into the end of the volume, it is stated “T’was Dean Young’s book who was Chaplain to kg. James, and kg. Charles the 1<sup>st</sup>. Son of Sir Peter Young of Seaton in Scotland preceptor to kg. James; was Dean of Winchester &c. Survived the kgs. murder 6 or 7 years. Thro the whole book are writ marginall notes sometimes texts in the Deans own hand apptg to the sufferings and woes of his much belovcd martyrd Sovereign.”

**3.**—This again is a rather later edition. The type used agrees with the preceding, but it has been partly set up again. The “Errata” page is there. At the top of p. 1 “Εἰκὼν Βασιλική” is in a different type, and on the last page (269) “repayed” is thus spelt instead of “repaied.” There are also many errors that were not in the preceding editions. It has 2 blank leaves at the beginning, covered with texts in the same handwriting as the *MS. Inscription* below. There is a folding plate (a worn impression, no doubt inserted later).

*MS. Inscription:*—In addition to above-mentioned texts, there is “The first time that my brother Thomas preached in Eastnor Church was ye 6<sup>th</sup> of November in the year 1672 it was the 3<sup>d</sup> sermon he ever preached & . . . I B E.”

No. 2 in Wagstaffe’s first list would agree with any of these three.

**4.**—This later edition differs in having a small oblong block on the Title page (*see fac-simile*), and 3 leaves of Contents (spelt “CONTENS” on the first leaf), instead of 2. The small oblong block on the Title page also appears above the address “To the pious Reader.” in “*The returns of Spiritual comfort and grief in a devout soul.* London, printed for R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivie-lane. 1649.” From pp. 33–172 (sheets D to M) smaller figures are used for the paging.

*Two copies.*—One, “JOHN DUNCAN”; the other, “JEREMIAH GILL” and “WILLIAM HORNE.” The latter copy in original calf binding.

*MS. Inscriptions:*—On verso of front cover “JEREMIAH GILL Booke | Ex dono HENRICI ATKINSONI | de Leeds in com Ebor: | Generof. | 1686.” | On Title page (*see fac-simile*). In the margin of the verso of p. 269, “SDNOMYS HPESOJ” (JOSEPH SYMONDS) and “TFIWS NHOJ” (JOHN SWIFT), while in the centre of the page is written the whole of the Epitaph upon King Charles, beginning “So falls that stately Cedar.”

It is highly interesting to have in these memoranda which I have hunted up about these two old owners of this volume, such a record of active devotion to Church and Crown. Thoresby’s *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 43, states:—“St. Peter’s, Leeds. In the High Quire—Memoriae sacrum, I.M. Hic Mortales depositus exuvias Juditha Nicholai Mascall de Ebor. Gener. Vidua, Gulielmi Horn de Mexburgh, Armiger:—Epitaph, &c., to her. Died 16/5/1682. Upon the next under the arms, Ermine, a Fesse between 3 Pheons sable:—Henricus Atkinson Armiger, Vir Legum Patriae Studiosissimus, Ingenii dotibus ornatissimus, Ecclesiae Anglicanae devotissimus, pii fanaticorum fraudibus insensissimus, mortales hic depositus exuvias Anno Salutis 1683 aetatis suea 39. Adjacent is interred, The body of Mr Henry Atkinson, Jun. late Student of Grays Inn, who departed this life the 25 day of October 1694, aged 22 years. For Atkinson Arms see p. 76. In Mexburgh Church.—Memoriae Sacrum Gulielmi Horne armigeri. | Hic jacet | Gulielmus Horne, de Mexburgh. | Lector. | si quaeris qualis erat quem haec terra tegit, | Accipe in parvo. | Principi suo fuit fidelis subditus: | ecclesiae anglicanae orthodox filius: | amicis et vicinis apprime charus: | invitus nulli nisi iis qui illum non probe norant. | Vixit annos 63: et diit 26 Martii 1679 | annoduim status et coelo paratus. | et nunc in Domino placide quiescit | beatam praestolans resurrectionem; | Sub hoc tumulo | quem moerentes ejus posteri illi posuere. | Viator, ne invideas dormienti, nam tu sequeris. The same person is also commemorated on the front of Almshouses given by him:—Deo et pauperibus. | per Gulielmum Horne, generosum, | anno aetatis suea 54 Anno D’ni. | 1669.”

Mr. H. LITTLEDALE, of the College, Baroda, India, has kindly sent me his copy for comparison. It seems to be identical with the preceding, except that it has “Contents” spelt correctly.

No. 3 in Wagstaffe’s first list.

6.

Ein'g Barlow.

21<sup>st</sup> 2<sup>o</sup>-6<sup>o</sup>  
Augt 23  
1679-

---

THE  
POVRTRAICTVRE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SVFFERINGS.

O! just & smalld say no.

Rom. 8.  
More then Conquerour, &c.

---

Bona agere, & malipati, Regium est.

---



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M.DC.XL.VIII.

**5.**—This edition extends to 270 pages, because p. 232 is occupied with an oval portrait of the Prince of Wales: “*Natus Māj 29 . Ān 1630 . Ātatis sue 19.*” Page 108, which in all the preceding impressions has been numbered 801, is rightly numbered. Bound up at the end are “THE | PAPER8 | which passed at | NEVV-CASTLE | BETWIXT | His Sacred MAJESTIE | AND | M<sup>r</sup> ALEX: HENDERSON: | Concerning the Change of | CHURCH-GOVERNMENT. | Anno Dom. 1646. | (A block showing head and wings of an angel.) | LONDON. | Printed for R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivie-lane | M.DC.XL.IX.” | Paged 1-58.\* Then “A | PERFECT COPIE | OF | PRAYERS | vSED | By HIS MAJESTY | In the time | Of His SUFFERINGS: | Delivered to Doctor Juxon, | Bishop of London, immediately | before His Death. | *Alfo a Copie of a LETTER from | The PRINC&E. | (A small block.) | Printed in the Yeare, M.DC.XL.IX.*” Text pp. 3-16. This edition of the Prayers (4) was probably issued with this *Eikon*, as well as being issued separately.

Bound in calf, gilt, probably a little later than time of publication. Inscribed in pencil, “First Edition | EDW. SOLLY.” In the Royal Library at Windsor Castle is a copy of this edition, and in it Charles II has written, “for the Princess Sophia.” Major H. R. LOVETT, Henlle Hall, Chirk, seems to have a copy of this edition; also Mr. CHARLES WILLIAM WILSON, 8, Adelaide Street, Kingstown, Ireland.

*Another copy.*—In original leather binding.

*MS. Inscriptions:*—“Duplicate from West Horseley Library;” also “W” and “A,” with an armorial seal between them. Seems to be 8th in Wagstaffe’s first list.

**6.**—FALCONER MADAN’s No. “(3)” (Title page as fac-simile) is a very imperfect copy of the preceding edition, but with the following page (signed V, and following T 8) at the end:—

“ERRATA.

Page 19.l.6.r.godly, p.25.l.9.r.a City, p.44.l.27.r. I  
am, p.45.l.12. r.Lord forgive, p.55.l.17r.the pub-  
lique, p.65.l.31.r.washed, p.81. l.28.r.in which those,  
p.84.l.18. r.naturall, p.148.l.30.r.mens, p.149.l.19.r.  
patterne,that:p.156.l.19.r.conform, p.163.l.16.r.Did I,  
ib.l.29.dele that, p.164.l.14.r.Presbyters, ib.l.16.r.pa-  
rity, p.168.l.3.r.consequence, ib.l.5.r.enjoyed, ib.l.11. r.  
.violent, p.169.l.10.r.and fighting, p.174.l.15. r.them;  
Some p.217.l.2.r.I dayly, p.221.l.16r.enacting. p.233.  
l.6.r.have. p.237.l.4.r.reforming, p.239.l.6.r.but by

The second of the four Prayers under the Title of [Another Prayer,] pag. 4. & 5. though it be here set downe according to other printed Copies, was yet none of His Majesties, (but composed by some body out of the first Morning Prayer, and one other in the Practice of Piety) there being indeed but three left by His Majesty. Of which the Reader to prevent his mistake is desired to take notice.

V ”

Bound in modern calf.

*MS. Inscriptions:*—“D<sup>r</sup> Gauden. (in another hand-writing) Smollet says no.” (See fac-simile Title page.)

Nos. 3 and 4 have, on p. 49, line 11, the word “long” omitted, the text reading “not after.” This has been put right in No. 5.

\* Isaac D’Israeli, at pp. 91-92 of Vol. III. of *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First*, gives the following note:—“Mr. Brodie, who studies at every point to depreciate the better qualities of Charles the First, has been particularly anxious to assert the spuriousness of some writings assigned to the King. Of the controversy between Charles the First and Alexander Henderson, the head of the Presbyters, respecting Church Government, Mr. Brodie, though he acknowledges that this ‘so far-famed production is never read’ (for certainly there is no occasion for it), yet, grudging even the slender merit of Charles for having produced ‘a far-famed work never read,’ he winds up with an insinuation ‘whether Charles was really the author of the controversial writings that pass under his name, may well be questioned.’ IV., 66. That this may never hereafter be questioned, I refer Mr. Brodie to the Lambeth Library, 679, where he will find the MSS., and the first entirely in the handwriting of the King. Charles was early exercised in these studies. We learn from one of his biographers that there was extant, in the hands of a worthy person, his extracts, ‘written with his own hand,’ of arguments from Laud’s book against the Jesuit Fisher, and that he was accustomed to epitomise Hooker and others on the present subject.”

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{3}{4}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A to H in twelves.

*Paging*:—1—187.

*Εἰναὶ Βασιλικη.*

---

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
O F  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE,  
I N  
HIS SOLITUDES  
A N D  
S U F F E R I N G S.

---

R o m . 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c*

---

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est*

---

Printed Anno Dom. 1648.

Bound in old leather.

*MS. Inscription*:—On verso of front cover, “3.”

Same as Mr. FALCONER MADAN's Nos. “(16)” and “(18).”

Seems to be No. 1 in Wagstaffe's first list

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Title page (as facsimile). Verso blank. Text 1—187, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” On verso of p. 187, and recto of the following leaf, is Contents, ending “FINIS.” Verso blank. Folding plate—a recumbent figure of the King on a tomb, and underneath is engraved on the plate, “*Throughout the world let this Memorial ring. | Heere lies a Crowned and Triumphant King | T. W.*” 2 blank leaves. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. A wood engraving version of the monument plate is in the British Museum, headed “the monvment of Charles the first, king of england, &c.” Underneath are the lines beginning “Here lies great Charles,” and ending “his foes with shame he stain'd.” This is the only edition with the table of Contents following the text. “HEN. MAISTERMAN” edition is probably a reprint of this.







Fac-simile of Book-plate.

(See Description of *Eikon* No. 23.)



8.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $6\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ : text 5 by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A to H in twelves.

*Paging*:—1-187.

*John Masterman J. W.  
Eccles Baskerville.*

---

THE  
POURTRACTION  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

---

Rom.8.  
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

---

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

---

Reprinted  
In R.M. Anno Dom. 1648.

---

9.—*Another edition*.—A separate setting up of the type. The third line of the Title page is “POURTRAICTURE” (*see* fac-simile Title page of No. 8), and on the last page “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt” and “FINIS” are in larger type.

Bound exactly as “MASTERMAN,” and with the same version of the frontispiece.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On first leaf, “GEO: THOMSON;” on Title page, “H. J. HEMINGWAY, | 1838 | Surgeon, | Dewsbury.”

Mr. C. LEESON evidently has a copy of one of these.

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text 1-187, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” Verso of 187 blank. 1 blank leaf at end. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents but not in text.

Bound in old calf.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—“THOS I: MASTERMAN.” | “X’ 17.” Undecipherable on second leaf. On Title page, “HEN: MAISTERMAN.” | “F. W.”

The same as B. M. 8122. a.

This edition is apparently a reprint of No. 7.

(?) No. 8 in Wagstaffe’s first list.

*Measurement* :—Binding  $5\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}$ ; but not exact for all the sheets. *Size of type* :—Pica.

*Signatures* :—A 4 leaves (the first leaf of Contents is signed A 3, probably in error); B to M in twelves; N 4 leaves (N 4 blank).

*Paging* :—1—269.

*Description* :—Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 3 leaves. (The verso of last leaf of Contents has, after the manner of a catch-word, the word “*Reader*,” but the meaning of this is not apparent.) Text 1—269, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.*” Verso of 269 blank. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text.

Eicōn Basilikē.

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

R o m . 8.

*More then Congnour, &c.*

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Printed Anno Dom. 1648.

“Kings Estate, Withypoole, was given by King Charles 2nd for services rendered to his unfortunate royal father—till 1842 in possession of the Cutcliff Family, in that year it was left to Zachary Hammett Drake, Esqre (who married, one of the Cutcliffs of Marwood Hill, near Barnstaple). HE UNHAPPILY sold it. It is the more to be regretted, as it is said the Cutcliffe family took their name with the estate of Kings, having derived it, by cutting through a cliff, in the service of Charles 2.”

“Felicitas est, ob bona pati, a malis; | Et certe, ob optima à pessimis, multa | persecutus est Carolus. | Shall even he y<sup>t</sup> hateth right governe; And | wilt y<sup>n</sup> condeme him y<sup>t</sup> is most right. Job 24. | Then if by God’s ordinance we are to obey | tyrants; how much more ought we then to | submit to good Princes. | A patient man will beare for a time & after | ward ioy shall spring up unto him; He will | hide his words, for a time, and ye pity of many | shall declare his wisedome. Ecctes. 1. 24. | Behold ye righteous shall be recompenced | (ie. punished) in ye earth. much more ye | wicked & ye sinner. Pr. 11. 31.”

Bound in modern calf.

*MS. Inscriptions* :—On verso of the first fly-leaf, “CHARLES WALTERS.” On verso of first blank leaf, “Of The Icōn Basilikē, ‘The Athē | næum’ of June 15<sup>th</sup> 1880 suggests | that ‘perhaps Bp: (?) Gauden may have | penned it from the King’s mouth:— | but Bp: Morley (of Winchester, I suppose) | probably knew who did write it.’ | Eicōn or Eikōn Basilikē. | A. V. W.”

*Another copy.*

*MS. Inscriptions* :—“Ex libris HENRICI MORRIS | e Coll. Sti Johis Bapt. | Oxon. A.D. 1650.” | with, at foot of the Title page, in the same hand, the quotation, “Nunquam libertas gratior exstat | quam sub Rege pio.—*Claudian*.”

(?) Is this 4th in Wagstaffe’s list?

11.—*Another edition*.—(Kindly lent to me by Mr. CECIL R. M. CLAPP, M.A., the Sheriff of Exeter.) The setting up of the Contents does not agree with any others. The Title page and part of the text agree with No. 10. It is in its original binding, and bears the following inscriptions (not in the hand-writing of the King or of Juxon):—

“Book of Meditations given by K. Charles off the scaffold to Bishop Juxon, by him to Mr. Tickell, from that to the Pitfields, then to Mrs. Joan Gregory.”

“A. Tucker | ch | Eaden October 27, 1807. | This Book, was given by King Charles the 1st from the scaffold to Bishop Juxon—from him to Mrs. Tickell—by her to the Pitfield family—by them to Mrs. Gregory—by Mrs. Gregory to the above named Mrs. A. Tucker, descended from the Tickell family. C. T.”

*Measurement*.—Binding  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{8}$  by  $2\frac{1}{8}$ ; but not exact for all the sheets.

*Size of type*.—Pica.

*Signatures*.—The Contents has signature N 2; then, B to M in twelves; N 4 leaves (N 4 is blank).

*Paging*.—1-269.

Eduardus Basilius.

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THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTY  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

---

Rom. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

---

*Bona ergo, & mala passi, Regium est.*

---

Printed Anno Dom 1648.

*Another copy*.—One blank leaf at beginning and one at end. The errors in Contents are corrected, and the larger italic is used only for the Prayer which concludes Chapter 28. The “mixed-up” condition of the running heads and pagination is best described by the word “deplorable.”

Bound in rough calf. Marbled end papers. Lettered on back, “SOLITUDE & SUFFERINGS OF CHARLES I.”

*MS. Inscriptions*.—“EDWARD BRADFORD | March 17 1672 | pr: - 1<sup>s</sup> - 2<sup>d</sup>” and “1854 | GEO. H. HAYDON.”

*Description*.—Two blank leaves. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text 1-269, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” Verso of 269 blank. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. In sheets D and E (pp. 44-96) and again in sheet K (pp. 193-216), larger figures have been used in the pagination. The Prayer at the end of Chapters 21, 22, and 28 is set up in a larger italic than that used at the conclusion of the other Chapters.

Bound in old black leather.

Kindly lent to me by the Rev. W. W. MALACHI,  
Laurence-Kirk, N.B.

(?) 5th in Wagstaffe's first list.

*Another copy*.—This has no blank leaves at the beginning, but has one at the end. A figure has “travelled” from the fourth to third line of Contents, causing Chapters 3 and 4 to appear as commencing on pp. 112 and 7, instead of pp. 12 and 17.

This copy is bound in old leather, and shows the remains of clasps.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{5}{8}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}$ ; but not exact for all the sheets.

*Size of type*:—Pica.

*Signatures*:—\* 2 eaves; B to M in twelves; N 3 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-269.

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. (No frontispiece.) Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents

Εἰας, Βαπτιστός.

THE  
POVR TRAICTVRE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES.  
AND  
SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

*More then Conquerour &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regnum e*

M.DC.XL.VIII.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On verso of front cover, “CATHERINE HUMFREY | Temple Street | Dublin.” | and “T. C. HUMFREY Clk.” On recto of third blank leaf, “HESTER HASSALL’S Book | 31<sup>st</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1746.” On Title page (undecipherable). On verso of last leaf, “HESTER HAND” | and (in same handwriting) “HESTER HASSALL.” | “WILLIAM POOLE.”

Mr. GEORGE L. PURCHASE, of Newtown, Chichester, has a copy of this edition, which was mentioned in *Notes and Queries* of April 13, 1867.

(?) 5th in Wagstaffe’s list.

1 leaf. Text 1-269, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” Verso blank. 3 blank leaves. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text.

In the Mixed Twelves Schedule (p. 36) the edition called “2” is described from this copy.

Bound in old black morocco, with a bunch of grapes at each corner of the covers. Gilt edges.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On fly leaf is written in pencil, in Edward Solly’s hand, “First Edition | Rare.”

(?) 5th in Royston’s list.

*Another copy*.—Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text 1-269, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” Verso blank. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. The text runs similarly in this and No. 1.

In original old leather binding.

*MS. Inscription*:—“O.”

*Another copy*, in Cardiff Free Library.

*Another copy*.—“HESTER HAND.” | and “HESTER HASSALL.”

This copy is bound in calf gilt (not very old), and is lettered “FUGITIVE LETTERS OF CHARLES I.”

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{3}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $4\frac{7}{8}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ ; but not exact for all the sheets.

*Size of type*:—Pica.

*Signatures*:—\* 2 leaves; B to M in twelves, and N 3 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-269, but full of errors in paging, and 269 is paged 164.

*Eicay Bayliss.*

THE  
POVRTRAICTVRE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.  
*More then Conquerour &c.*

*Bona ngere, & mala pati, Regium eft.*

M.DC.XLVIII

*Another copy*.—From the Library of the late TALBOT BAINES REED, and kindly lent by Mrs. REED. The folding plate is different from the above.

This copy has been re-bound.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On recto of first blank leaf, “97. | T. B. REED.” | “Lowndes says: | 50 Editions, it is said, of this book | appeared at home & abroad in 1648-9.”

Book-plate: “Ex Libris | T. B. R. | BENT NOT BROKEN.”

The Cardiff Free Library contains a copy of this edition.

*Description*:—3 blank leaves. Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. At the bottom of the engraving is “P.” Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text 1-269, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” | Verso blank. 3 blank leaves. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text.

Bound in old black leather.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—Inside front cover “R. SIMMONS | 1884.” On recto of first leaf “E. Libris J WELFORD- armig | Londini” |; “ED HUGHES | presented by | MR. HAWES | Surgeon of | The Lancashire | Militia.” | On recto of third leaf “E SIMMONS | Bought | at | auc Sale | in | 1867.” On Title page “WM. HATFIELD.” | On verso “WM. HATFIELD | his Book | 1712.”

*Measurement*:—Binding  $6\frac{1}{8}$  by 4; text 5 by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ , and 5 by  $2\frac{15}{16}$ .

*Size of type*:—12 point.

*Signatures*:—A to V in eights; a 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-302.

*Eikon Basiliæ.*

---

**THE  
POVRTRAICTVRE  
O F  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
I N  
HIS SOLITUDES  
A N D  
S U F F E R I N G S.**

---

R O M . 8.  
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

---

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

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**M.DC.XLVIII.**

Bound in old black morocco, gilt. It has ♀ in each corner, and "H B" in contemporary lettering in the centre of each cover.

Pasted on verso of first leaf is a newspaper cutting, relative to the authorship of the *Eikon*, bearing date "LONDON,  
July 10, 1734."

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On recto of second blank leaf, "preium huius libri — iij*s.* | Empt. 13<sup>o</sup> Apr. 1649 / "

Book-plate of "WILLIAM & ELIZABETH BENNETT;" also that of "FRIENDS' LIBRARY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE."

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Double-page plate of the King kneeling. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 2 leaves. Text 1-302, ending "Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS." "A true Relation of the KING'S | Speech" | &c., &c., 3 leaves, not paged, ending "Copia vera." "An Epitaph upon King CHARLES." | 1 page, ending "I. H." Verso blank. This copy does not contain the Prayers. (The Prayers mentioned in the "HUTTON" copy, on next page, are not included in the Contents, which only include the *Eikon*; but they were, I think, printed for this edition.) Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents but not in text.

This edition, like many others, was no doubt printed amidst dangers and difficulties. The paging is very bad. At the end of some of the chapters a smaller italic was used, probably with the object of getting all the matter into the page. After sheet O, the text is set to a wider measure, and after page 302 one still wider has been used.

Probably No. 11 in Wagstaffe's first list.

*Another copy.*—“ANNE HUTTON.”—1 blank leaf. Folding plate. Verso of Title blank. Text 1–302, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” Then follow Prayers (4), &c., 4 leaves, not paged. Oval portrait of Charles II: “*Natus May 29 An° 1630. Etatis sue 19.*” Then follows “*A true Relation of the KING'S Speech*” | &c., 4 leaves, unpaged; the verso of the last blank. One blank leaf.

B. M. 8122. a. is a copy of this edition.

This copy is bound in old black morocco. Gilt edges. A circle in gilt in the middle of each cover, emblematical of the eternal life of the King.

In these copies, and in all others that I have seen of this edition, the engraved plate is a fine early impression. I have another copy, in old black morocco, gilt, with Crown and “C. R.” on the binding; but this copy lacks Title page.

Under a glass case in the Queen's Library, at Windsor Castle, is a copy of this edition, with silver clasps.

*Another copy.*—“THO: WALKER.”

Morocco, gilt, in a trellis lace pattern almost identical with work known to have been done by the nuns of Little Gidding.

This interesting copy was kindly lent by Colonel CHARLES JAMES DURAND, and it contains his armorial Ex Libris.

Dr. J. WICKHAM LEGG has a copy of this edition, with the old name “A. COVENTRY” written in it. This was perchance the great Lord Clarendon's copy!

In the Library at Innerpeffray, Perthshire, is a copy of this edition, bearing on the Title page the old signature “MADESTIE.” The books in this Library were left by David, third Lord Madestie, who married the sister of the great Marquis of Montrose. This Lord Madestie's brother, General Drummond of Cromlix, first Viscount Strathallan, claimed to have been the first to carry the news of the execution of Charles the First to Charles the Second, and also to have seen the preparations for the execution, but to have been unable, from the state of his feelings, to view the tragedy.

This copy lacks one page, and has been re-bound. May my “blessing” rest upon the creature that dressed this old treasure in new clothes. Fortunately nowadays we have learned to keep our old volumes safe and sound without such vandal acts. Mr. and Mrs. TREGASKIS sold to me a copy of No. 22, containing an oval portrait of the King on the binding; but the binding being very dilapidated, they had put the book into a new jacket, whilst preserving the old covers by placing them inside.

Captain ALURED B. DENNEV, R.A., has written to me two most interesting letters describing an *Eikon* in the Library of the Royal Artillery, at Woolwich, which is evidently of this edition.

It is bound in black morocco. Black edges, with “C. R.” crown and skull.

*MS. Inscriptions:*—On fly-leaf, “This Book I have promised to leave to my cousin, ROBERT ORLEBAR, Senr., of Crawley House.”

Mr. POVNTZ, Vicar of Dorchester-on-Thames (where he teaches the Faith taught there by St. Birinus twelve hundred and sixty years ago), appears to have a copy of this edition, in old binding, with a crown and “C. R.” on each cover.

Also Mr. JAMES BRUCE, 57, Great King Street, Edinburgh.

Nothing has been more pleasing than the enthusiasm called forth in “Anld Reekie” and other parts of Scotland by the building of my little barque, and some very knotty baulks of timber used in the work have come from North of the Tweed.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $4\frac{3}{8}$  by  $2\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $3\frac{3}{4}$  by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A to Q in twelves; R 11 leaves.

*Paging*:—Not paged at all.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. The next has been a folding leaf, bearing “The Explanation of the Frontispice,” but of it only one-half now remains. Folding plate of the King kneeling at a table, and holding a crown of thorns in his right hand. Upon the table lies an open book bearing the words “IN | VERBO | TUO | SPES | MEA.” At the bottom of the engraving is “P.” Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 2 leaves. Verso of second leaf blank. (Although the book is not paged, the Contents denotes the various Chapters (1-28) as commencing on pp. 1, 6, 12, 17, 26, 34, 41, 47, 54, 66, 75, 89, 100, 110, 122, 138, 147, 166, 172, 181, 189, 197, 216, 260, 218, 223, 232, 252; but this pagination is altogether wrong, as there are actually 397 pages in the book, and the Chapters should have been indexed as pp. 1, 8, 17, 23, 36, 47, 56, 64, 74, 92, 105, 126, 142, 157, 175, 198, 213, 242, 251, 265, 277, 289, 295, 303, 322, 329, 341, 371.) The text ends, on the recto of the last leaf, with “Vota dabunt, quæ bella | negârunt. | FINIS.” Verso blank. 3 blank leaves. It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is numbered in text but not in Contents. The pages of sheets B, G, and H are set to a slightly wider measure.

Bound in old leather. Black edges.

*MS. Inscription*:—On verso of front cover “(24).”—F. MADAN.

Seems to be 17th in Wagstaffe’s first list.

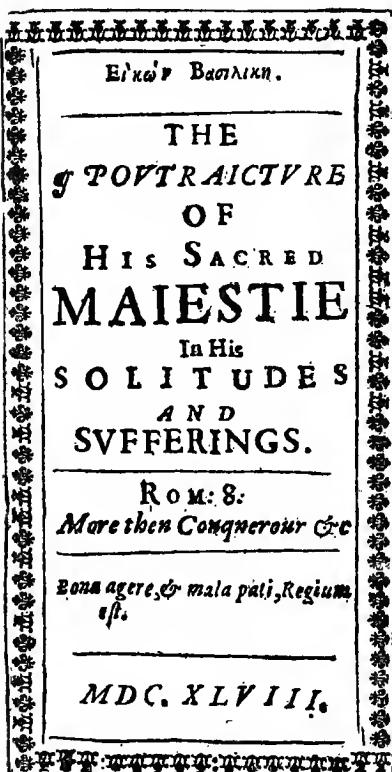
*Another copy*.—“X.”

Bound in new smooth purple morocco. Folding leaf, “The Explanation of the Frontispice,” is perfect.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On verso of first blank leaf, “X.” On Title page the word “SACRED” is obliterated with ink lines.

*Another*.—Kindly sent by the Rev. T. MURRAY, the Presbyterian Manse, Gibraltar. This contains, at the end, “A | Perfect Copie of | PRAYERS | Vfed by His | MAJESTIE | In the time of His | Sufferings. | Delivered to Doctor | Iuxson, Bishop of Lon- | don immediatly be- | fore his Death. | Also a Copy of a Letter | from the PRINCE. | Together with His Ma- | jesties REASONS. Against | the pretended Jurisdi- | ction of the high Court | of Justice, which he | intended to deliver | in writing, on | Munday Ian. 22. | 1648. | Printed Anno Dom. 1649.” 11 leaves, unpage. Number of Prayers, 4, viz.:—“Captivity,” “Another Prayer,” “Affliction,” “Danger.”

MR. HERBERT POWELL, Howey Hall, Llandrindod, seems to have a copy of this edition.









Binding Illustration No. 1.

(See Description of *Eikon* No. 42.)



*Measurement*:—Binding  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $3\frac{3}{4}$  by  $1\frac{3}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to P in twelves; Q 8 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-354 (*Eikon* 1-342).

*Description*:—2 leaves blank, except that on recto of second is the *signature* “A.” (“The Explanation of the EMBLEME” has been removed from its former position between the two blank leaves, and the English translation cut off and pasted on the verso of second leaf.) Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. At the bottom of the folding plate is: “King CHARLES 1. at his Meditations. R.P.” Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank.

*Eikon Basileum.*

## The Pourtraicture of His Sacred M A J E S T I E In his Solitudes and Sufferings.

Together with his *Prayers*.  
Prayers delivered to Dr. JUXON  
Bishop of London immediately  
before his death, &c.

---

Rom. 8.  
More then Conquerour, &c.

---

Bona agere, & male pati, Regulum est.

---

Printed Anno Domini 1648.

Contents 3 pages. Verso of second leaf blank. Text 1-342, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.” Then follows “His MAJESTIES Private Prayers, deliver'd to Dr. Juxon immediately before His Sufferings.” Text of Prayers, pp. 343-9, ending “even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.” Following the Prayers is “A Copy of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the HAGUE Jan. 23. 1648.” 1 page (350), ending “The Superscription was thus, For the KING.” Page 351 commences “Munday 29. of January, 1648 | A true Relation of the KING'S Speech | to the Lady ELIZABETH, and the Duke of GLOUCESTER, the day before His Death.” On p. 352 is “Another Relation from the Lady ELIZABETH'S own Hands.” extending to bottom of next page. On the last page (354) is “Another Relation from the Lady ELIZABETH.” | ending “Copia vera.” “An Epitaph upon King CHARLES. SO fals that stately Cedar; while it stood” | ending “It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms shame. J. H. FINIS.” 1 blank leaf. Between pp. 292-3 is an oval portrait of the Prince of Wales: “Natus May 29 1630 | Aetatis suæ 19.” Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. Number of Prayers, 4. The Contents includes the whole text of the book, and the volume, including the frontispiece, is, no doubt, as issued. Chapters 2 and 24 are mentioned in Contents as being on pp. 6 and 269; in the text they are pp. 7 and 260.

Bound in dark morocco, gilt. Gilt edges, with Crown, “C \* R” and skull on covers.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On verso of front cover, “Ex libris ED G DUFF | E Coll Wadh | Oxon.” | “F. MADAN | 1888.” | (This copy belongs to F. MADAN. He has numbered all his *Eikons* in a particular manner. This is his No. “(27).”) On recto of first leaf, “ASTON.”

Canon WALTER F. ROWSELL, Topcliffe Vicarage, Thirsk, has a very time-worn copy of this edition.

Mr. R. H. RASTALL, Ruswarp House, Ruswarp, Whitby, evidently has a copy of this edition. Mr. Rastall states that he is a descendant of Sir Thomas Herbert, and that he has no doubt but that this volume belonged to his famous ancestor, of whom he has many other relics.

(?) 16th in Wagstaffe's first list.

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18.—An edition from which No. 17 probably was composed. The Title page is like No. 17, but without mention of Prayers. The list of Contents also only includes the *Eikon*.

Bound in old calf, with holes for clasps.

*MS. Inscription*:—“ROB. G. RIDGWAYS, ex dono MRS. LENON.”

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
M A J E S T Y  
IN HIS  
*Solitudes and Sufferings.*

Rom. 8.

*More then Conqueror, &c.*

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.



M. D C. X L V I I I .

*Measurement*:—Binding  $6\frac{1}{8}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ; but in some parts of the volume there are considerable variations from this text measurement.

*Signatures*:—(See *Description*.)

*Size of type*:—Pica and 12 point.

*Paging*:—I-96; I-355; I-374 (*Eikon* I-242); 9-119.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Single page plate of Charles I sitting, wearing a hat, and with his hands on a large Globe. On the stand of the Globe “*Guil: Marshall sculp:*” General Title: “*Reliquiae Sacrae CAROLINÆ | THE | VVORKES | OF THAT | GREAT MONARCH | AND | Glorious Martyr | KING CHARLES the 1<sup>st</sup>. | both Civil and Sacred. | WITH | A short view of the LIFE and | REIGN of that most blessed Prince | from his Birth to his Buriall. | Tacit. Hist. Lib. I. *Alii diutiū Imperium tenuerunt, nemo | tam fortiter reliquit. | HAGUE, | Printed by SAM: BROWNE.*” | Verso blank. Text of Life of King Charles, pp. I-96. *Signatures*: A3 to G2 in eights. The Speeches, Messages, Letters, &c. Sub-title, 1 leaf. Text pp. I-355. *Signatures*: B to Aa4, in eights. Verso of Aa4 (p. 355) blank. Title page: “*RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ | CAROLINÆ: | THE | Pourtraicture of His Sacred | MAJESTIE | IN HIS | SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS: | Together with | Severall additionals relating to the | Death of that most Religious and | Blessed PRINCE. | The second part containing Matters sacred. | HAGUE, | Printed by Samuel Brown. | A” | Verso blank. A poem “Upon His Sacred MAJESTIES incomparable | EIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | COuldſt thou before thy death” | &c. 1 leaf (A2). Double page engraving (a fine impression). Recto of next leaf blank. On verso “The Explanation of the EMBLEM.” | (in verse) in Latin and English, signed “G. D.” Title page of *Eikon Basilike* (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents (A3) 1 leaf, with, at foot, the catch-word “EIKΩΝ.” Text pp. I-242, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.*” (*Signatures of Eikon*: B to R1 in eights.) Then follows “*THE | PAPERS | Which paffed between | His MAJESTY and Mr. Marshall, | Mr. Vines, Mr. Caril, and Mr. | Seaman, Ministers attending | the Commissioners of Parlia- | ment at the Treaty at Newport in | the Isle of Wight, | An. Dom. 1648. | Concerning CHURCH-GOVERNMENT | and EPISCOPACY.*” Verso blank. Text pp. 245-374. *Signatures*: S, T, U, X, Y, Z, Aa, Bb, in eights; Cc 2 leaves. Half-way down p. 373 is “*PRAYERS | Used by His Majesty in the time of His | SUFFERINGS. | &c., &c.* At the foot of p. 374 is catch-word (“Additionall”) for the next page, which is paged 9, and so on to p. 15. (The *Signatures* of pp. 9-15 are intended to be R to R4, but in this copy, and others that I have seen, the first leaf is lettered T, and R is written over it, and T3 is printed for R3.) The verso of R4 (p. 16, but not numbered) has six lines, in verse, “*Upon the picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair | before the High Court of Injustice.*”**

The recto of next leaf is numbered thus "(243)," and reads: "THE TRYALL | OF | CHARLES the I. | KING of ENGLAND, | In the Great Hall at W<sup>e</sup>stm. | Jan. 20. 1648." Verso blank. The recto of next leaf is paged 19, and commences "Three Queries propounded by his Majesty," &c. Verso is paged 246; the next 247; and after that the paging runs 22, 23, 250, 25-119, ending "THE END." Verso of 119 blank. Then "A Table of the Contents." 4 leaves, ending "THE END." 2 blank leaves at the end. *Signatures:* From the page numbered "(243)" to p. 250, are the 4 last leaves of R; then U, X, Y, Z, Aa, and Bb in eights; Cc 4 leaves. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. A larger version of the engraving of Charles I. with both hands on a large globe (Guil. Marshall, sculp:) is as a frontispiece to "*Certamen Religiosum*: London, | Printed for W. Lee, at the Turks Head in Fleet Street, and R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivie-lane. | 1651."

This copy is bound in old black morocco, gilt, with blue silk strings (two out of the four remain complete). Gilt edges.

*MS. Inscriptions:*—On verso of first blank leaf "ANNE STRODE." Signature on book plate, on verso of front cover, "HENRY OGLANDER."

In the thirteenth of the *Historical Manuscripts Reports*, and in the tenth paper of the *Examinations and Confessions of Thomas Coke*, of Drayton, in Shropshire, taken in April and May, 1651, it is written:—"Sir John Oglander, of the Isle of Wight, and his sonn John, were loopt upon as great friends to the kinge at the treaty. Younge Worsley Esqre was in a designe for the escape of the late kinge out of the Isle of Wight, when he was prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle, and prepared horses to receive him, as soon as he should come over the werkēs. Captain Titus layd [horses] on this side of the water by Tichfield for his conveiance. Mr. Dillington told this Examinant that younge Oglander, Sir John's sonn, and most of the gentlemen in the Isle of Wight were engaged in the then designe of the surprize of Caribrooke Castle, and the late king's escape and blamed very much the revolted shippes for not appearinge before the island to give them an opportunity to rise for that purpose."

Is *Eikon* 10th in Wagstaffe's first list?

*Another copy.*—In Hillingdon Church Library. (See p. 52.)

*Another copy.*—“MARTHA HIROM” | “G. STANNARD.”

Bound in old brown calf.

*Another copy*—“JOHN SWADLIER.”

Bound in old panelled calf.

*Another copy* (of the *Eikon* only).

Newly half-bound.

Same as B. M. 600. c. 2.

VISCOUNT MELVILLE, Cotterstock Hall, Oundle, has a copy of this and of two other editions.

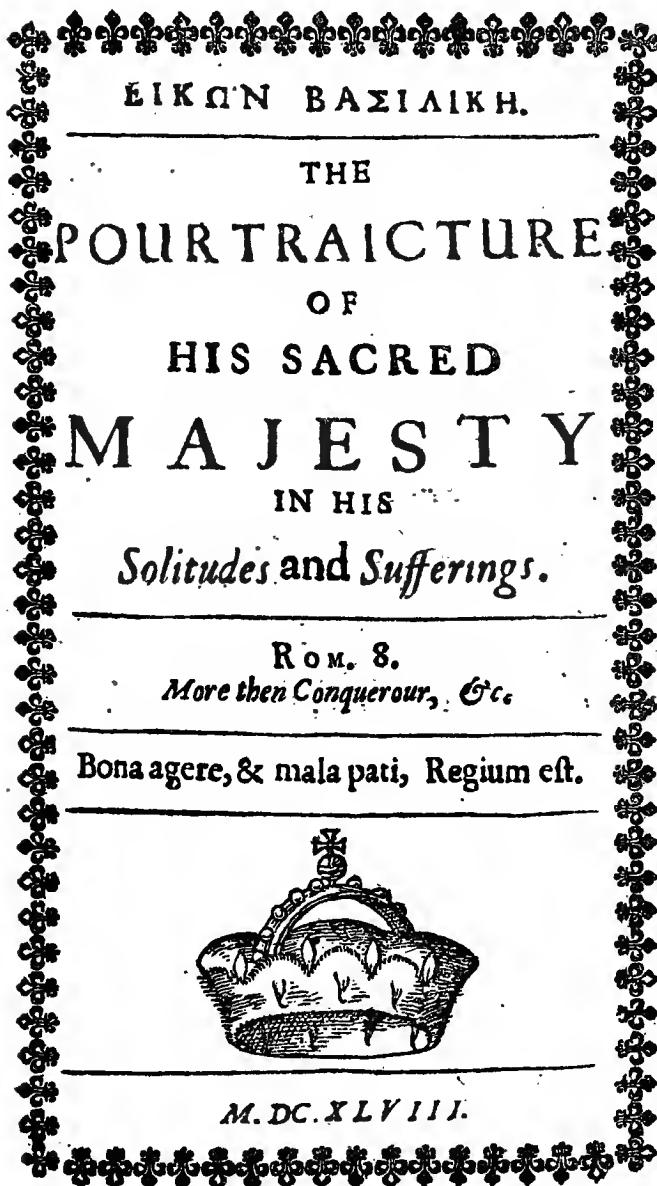
## 20.

*Another copy* (of the *Eikon* only).

Imperfect at end. This has "MALI" instead of "MALA" on the Title page.

21.—*Another edition.*—“HENRY DAVIES,” and “EDWARD MALONE.”

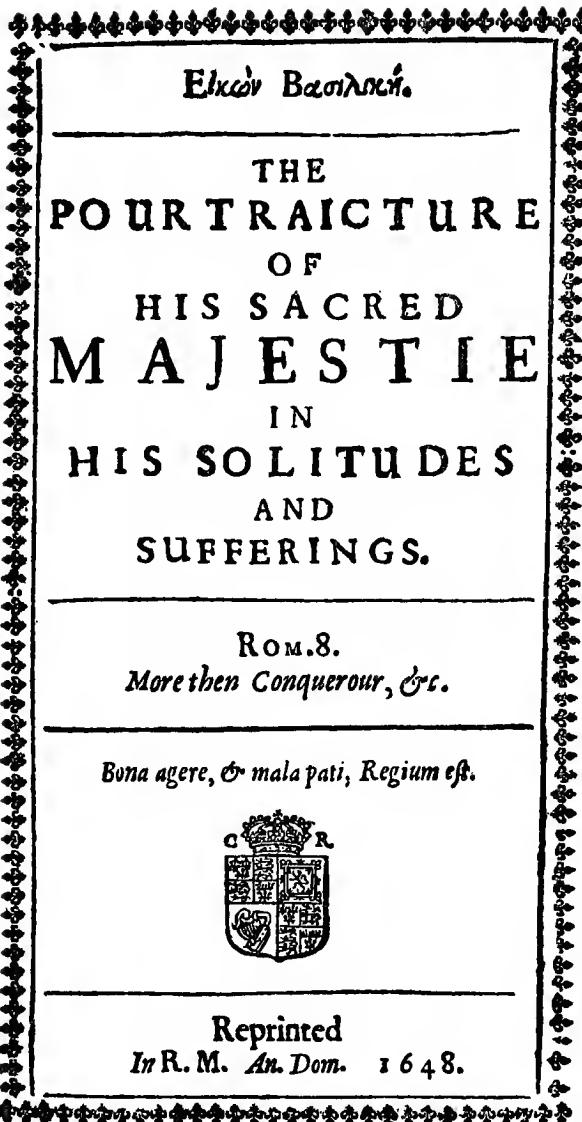
In this edition, the matter preceding the *Eikon*, up to the blank verso of p. 355, is the same as that in the *Description* of “HENRY OGLANDER,” No. 19. Then follows—



1 blank page, with “The Explanation of the *EMBLEM*” (in Latin and English) on verso. Double page engraving. “ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.” Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Title page of “RELIQUÆ SACRAE,” but with “Severall additions” instead of “Severall additionals” (*see* “OGLANDER,” No. 19). Verso blank. A poem; 1 leaf. Contents, 1 leaf, ending with catchword “ΕΙΚΩΝ.” Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1–242, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” Between pp. 208–9 is oval portrait of Prince of Wales. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. After the *Eikon*, as far as the blank verso of p. 119, this is the same as “OGLANDER,” No. 19. Then “A HYMN to King CHARLES the 1<sup>st</sup>.” | 2 leaves. Verso of second leaf blank. “A Table of the Contents.” | 4 leaves.

Bound in new smooth morocco. Book label of “HENRY DAVIES.” On second blank leaf is a MS. note by “E. MALONE,” who ascribes this “Life of Charles I” to Dr. Perenchief.

No. 19 is not very common. On the other hand, no copy of No. 21, except the solitary example here described, is known to exist. Thus had I written; but, just on going to press, a copy belonging to the Rev. R. W. HOOPER has come to hand.



*Measurement*:—Binding 7 $\frac{5}{8}$  by 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ ; text (*Reliquiae*, &c.) 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ , and (*Eikon*) 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 3.

*Size of type*:—Pica, and 12 point.

*Signatures*:—A to S in eights; T 2 leaves. (*Eikon*) A to R in eights. S 6 leaves; S to Ee in eights.

*Paging*:—1-276; 1-268 (*Eikon*); 1-10; 149-324.

*Description*:—Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand (“*Guil: Marball delineau: et Sculpsit.*”), below which is “The Explanation of the EMBLEME.” in Latin and English, and signed “G. D.” Then a Title page: “RELIQVIÆ SACRÆ | CAROLINÆ. | OR THE | WORKS | OF THAT | GREAT MONARCH | AND | GLORIOVS MARTYR | King CHARLS the I. | Collected together, and digested in order, | according to their severall Subjects, | CIVIL and SACRED. | The Contents appear in the next ensuing Pages. | 2 King 23.25. And like unto him there was no | King before him, that turned to the Lord with | all his heart, &c. | Heb. 11.4. Being dead, he yet speaketh. | (A small fancy block.) | HAGUE, | Printed by Samuell Browne. 1651.” | On verso is Dedication: “SERENISS. PRINCIPI AC DOMINO CAROLO | II. FILIO NAT. MAJ. CAR. I. MARTYRO | CORONATI, | VIRTUTVM PATERN. ANTITYP. VERO | REGN. HÆRED. AC SVCCES. INDVBIO. | AVITÆ RELIG. LEGVM AC LIBERTAT. | [QVAS IMPIA NOVATORVM RABIES CON- | CVLCAVIT] | INSTAVRATORI DESIDERATIS. | SACRAS HASCE SANCTISS. MARTYRIS | RELIQUIAS, | DIVINOS MENTIS HEROICÆ | PARTUS. | ÆTERNA VIRTUT. REGIARVM | MONVMENTA, | HN MILIME CONSECRAT | MAJEST. VESTRAE SVBDITVS. | PART. NVPER SERVUS | DEVOTISS.” | Contents (which includes everything in the whole volume) 7 leaves. Text 1-276, ending with the catch-word “EIKON.” Then follows *Eikon* Βασιλική. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents (of *Eikon*) 2 leaves. Text 1-268, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” | “PRAIERS, | Used by His | MAJESTIE | In the time of His | sufferings.” | &c., 3 leaves, paged 1-6. “A Copie of a Letter which was sent from | the PRINCE to the KING;” | 1 p., ending “For the King.” | “Mundaie 29<sup>th</sup> Januarie, 1648. | A true Relation of the KING's Speech” | &c., 2 pp. (Each of these pages has a line of small ornament at the head. The second page is much longer, and in smaller type, evidently done to leave a clear page for the Epitaph.) “An Epitaph upon King CHARLS. | SO fall's that statelie Cedar: while it stood,” | &c., signed “J. H.” | the page (10) ending with the motto commencing “MA'PTYΣ,” and “FINIS.” Then follows the Newcastle Papers, &c., &c., paged 149-324. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 4.

Bound in old calf. Red edges.

*MS. Inscription*:—“WM COPELAND | Trin Coll Oxford. -”

The *Apophthegmata Carolinae* were apparently written from this edition. The *Eikon* and Prayers do not properly belong to this edition of the *Reliquiae*; but both *Eikon* and the rest of the volume were evidently printed by W. DuGard. This *Eikon* is the same as B. M. 599. C. 23. The *Reliquiae* Contents (see pp. 57-66) have been set up from this edition.

(?) 7th in Wagstaffe's first list.

**23.**—*Another edition* of the *Eikon* and Prayers. Varying only in having five lines of the Title page printed in red.

The only copy that I know of is that which contains the book-plate (reproduced in fac-simile for this work) following *Eikon* No. 7. The volume begins at one end with the *Eikon*, and at the other end with the rare first edition of *Boscobel*. On Title page, 17th century name “ELIZA MOORE.” The book came from the Marquis of Hastings' Library.

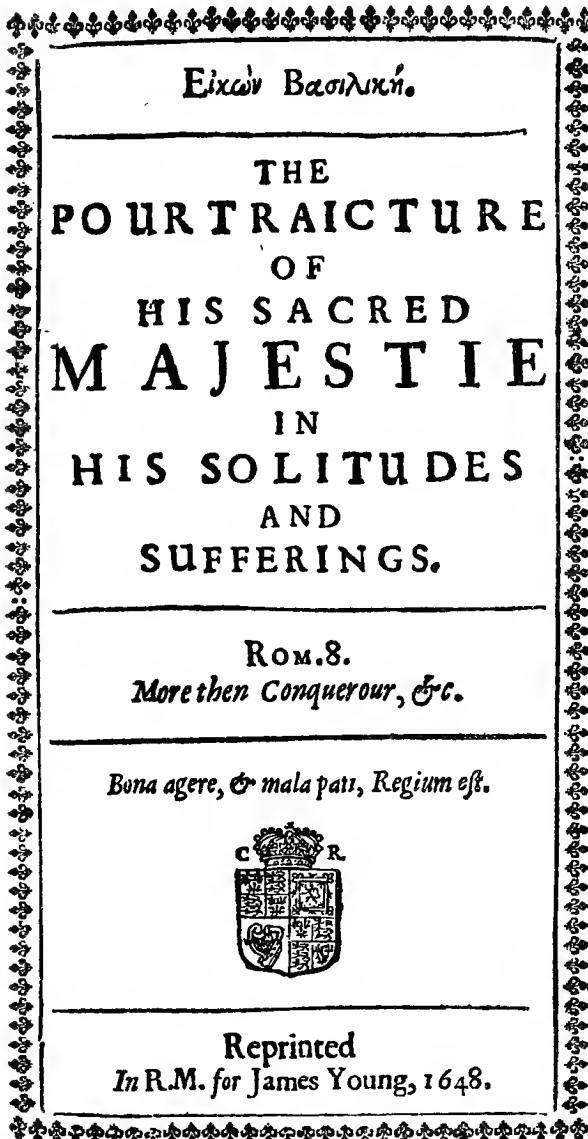
Mr. E. W. GOODMAN, 155, Haverstock Hill; the Rev. J. A. MACCULLOCH, Currie, Midlothian; Mr. R. DENNY-URLIN, 22, Stafford Terrace, Phillimore Gardens, and Mrs. WINHAM, Western House, Brighton, each appear to have a copy of one of these editions,

*Measurement*:—Binding  $6\frac{3}{4}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $5\frac{3}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—12 point.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to R in eights; S 7 leaves.

*Paging*:—I—269.



*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Folding plate of the King (half-face) kneeling at a table, and holding a crown of thorns in his right hand ("Guil: Marshall Sculpsit"). Underneath the engraving is "The Explanation of the Embleme." Title page (as fac-simile), with verso blank. The Contents 3 leaves. Verso of third leaf blank. Text of *Eikon*, pp. I—269, ending "Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS." Verso of 269 blank. 1 blank leaf at the end. Between pp. 232 and 233 is an oval portrait of Charles II when Prince of Wales. Under the portrait is: "Natus Maij 29. Ano 1630. Aetatis sue 19." Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents but not in text. It does not contain the Prayers. From pp. 177—269 larger figures have been used in the pagination.

In contemporary binding, with crown and "C R," on both covers, in gilt. Black edges.

*MS. Inscription*:—At the foot of Title page, "ANN ELEANOR TOMKINS | 1795."

The Title page of the *Eikon* in the DEAN OF EDINBURGH's *Reliquiae* (Samuell Browne, 1651) is the same as No. 23. The leaves of Contents agree with No. 22. The text of the *Eikon* agrees with No. 22.

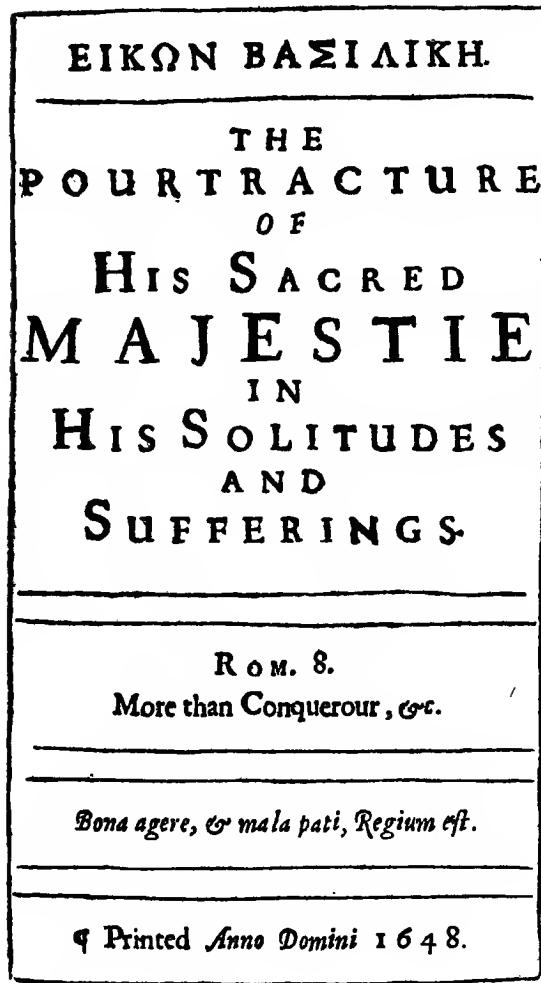
12th in Wagstaffe's first list.

*Measurement*.—Binding 6 by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{7}{8}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ .

*Size of type*.—Pica.

*Signatures*.—A 6 leaves; B to K in twelves. (K 12 blank.)

*Paging*.—1-225; 1-6.



*Description*.—Folding plate. Title page (as facsimile), with verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text 1-225, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” Verso of 225 blank. 1 blank leaf at end. Between pp. 194-5 is oval portrait of Charles II, with a crown of thorns on his left: “*Natus Maii 29: An. 1630: Etatis sue 19.*” “A | Perfect Copie of | PRAYERS, | . . . . . Printed *Anno Domini 1649.*” | &c., pp. 1-6. “*A true Relation of the KING'S Speech*” &c., 2 leaves, not paged. The Contents only include the *Eikon*. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents but not in text. Number of Prayers, 4. There is bound up at the end an edition of the Book of Common Prayer of the time of Charles I. Title page is missing. The *collation* is A to D in twelves; *size of type*: Nonpareil. At the end is “The whole Book of | PSALMS: | Collected into English meetre, by | Thomas Sternhold, John Hop- | kins, and others. | . . . . . LONDON, | Printed by WILLIAM BENTLEY, | *Anno Domini 1649.*” | paged 1-84, and 5 leaves not paged.

This edition of the *Eikon* was evidently printed by William Bentley.

This volume is bound in old black morocco; black edges, with a design stamped across the edges. It has all the appearance of having formed one volume from the commencement. The Book of Common Prayer was, of course, as rigidly prohibited as the *Eikon* itself.

*MS. Inscriptions*.—PHILIP BLISS in plate.—“WILLIAM SAUL JUN<sup>2</sup>” | “D. B. SAUL.”

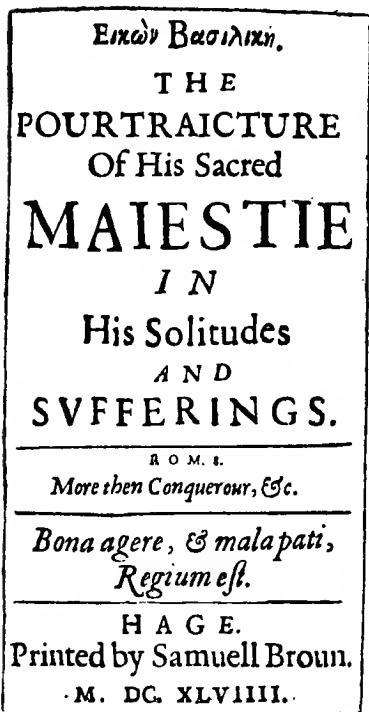
Mr. FALCONER MADAN's No. “(13)” is a copy of this edition, as also is his No. “(15),” but with the Epitaph “So falls,” &c., on verso of Title page, as well as in its place at the end. His No. “(21)” is same as this (no portrait of Prince of Wales between pp. 194-5).

*Measurement*:—Binding  $4\frac{3}{8}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $3\frac{1}{4}$  by  $1\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Brevier.

*Signatures*:—A 7 leaves (6 and 7 blank); B to V in eights; X 7 leaves.

*Paging*:—1–8; and 1–318. (As noted below, the pp. 1–8 should be at the end.)



*Description*:—Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. A Title page: “HIS MAJESTIES | DECLARATION | CONCERNING | THE TREATY: | AND | His Dislike of the Ar- | mies Proceedings. | Delivered by His Maj- | sty to one of His Ser- | vants at His depa- | ture from the Isle | of WIGHT: | AND | Commanded to be published | for the satisfaction of | His Subjects, | ANNO M. DC. XLVIII.” Text of the Declaration (which commences on verso of Declaration Title page), pp. 2–8, ending “C. R. | FINIS.” (The foregoing leaves have no signatures.) Title page (of *Eikon*) as fac-simile. Verso blank. Contents 4 leaves; on the verso of fourth leaf is Errata. 2 blank leaves. Text pp. 1–318, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.” Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. I fancy that (though Contents only include the *Eikon*) the Declaration, which has no signatures, belongs to the edition, and should be at the end of the book. Following the *Eikon*, in this copy, are (in manuscript) the Prayers (3), Relations (2), and a Letter from the Prince to the King, occupying 8 leaves and recto of back cover. The verso of front cover and 2 following leaves contain MS. extracts concerning the authorship of the *Eikon*, and the number of editions issued with, or without, the Prayers, and is signed “FREDERICK ROUCH, B.A. | January 1823.”

Bound in smooth leather. Red edges.

*MS. Inscription*:—On recto of second blank leaf, “REV'D. FREDERICK ROUCH, M.A.”  
27th in Wagstaffe's first list.

*Another copy*—“G. C. MAY, 1879.”—has 4 blank leaves at beginning, and 4 at end, and is in old black morocco contemporary binding. It does not contain the Declaration.

Kindly lent to me by Mr. G. C. MAY.

Mr. J. E. ARNETT, of the Library, Tenby, seems to have a copy of this edition.

Mr. C. B. NORCLIFFE, Langton Hall, Malton, has kindly lent me a copy, in original good calf binding, with red edges. It has been in his family for more than two hundred years, and bears the following old *MS. Inscription*:—“E Libris IOHANNIS ESTOFT 1691.” The present owner has written in it, “John Estoft was baptized at Etton, E. R. Y., 18 January, 1674–5; was of Sidney, Camb., 1692; drowned 26 October, 1694, in the Trent, near Newark; Buried 24 December, 1694, at Lockington. Brother of my great great grandmother.”

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A 2 leaves; B to I in twelves; K 2 leaves; L (the Prayers, etc.) 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-195.

Eikon Banbury

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THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

---

Rom. 8.  
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

---

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est*

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*M. D C. X L I X*

Original leather binding, with Crown and “C. R.” (gilt) on each cover.

*Eikon* same as Falconer Madan’s “(22),” which has not Prayers, etc.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On recto of first blank leaf, “They that will doe more then they ought to doo | will at last doo more then they thought to doo”; | also, “ANTHO: SPENSER:” On the verso, “A DEVON | June 5: 1770.”  
21st in Wagstaffe’s first list.

*Another copy* (without portrait).—“JN<sup>o</sup> SPARROW | the 16 . July | 1709.” (In another hand)—“Dy’d 24 November | 1710.”

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Title page (as facsimile), with verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text, 1-195, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” | Verso blank. Between pp. 168-9 is oval portrait of Charles II, with crown of thorns on his left: “*Natus May 29. An 1630. Ætatis sue 19.*” “A | Perfect Copy of | PRAYERS, | Used by His | MAJESTIE | In the time of | HIS SUFFERINGS. | Delivered to Doctor Juxon | Bishop of London immediately | before His Death. | Also a Copie of a Letter from the | PRINCE. | (A small ornament.) | Printed Anno Domini, 1649.” Text of the Prayers, Letter, Relations, and Epitaph, 4 leaves, not paged. 2 blank leaves at end. The Contents only include the *Eikon*. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. Number of Prayers 4.

Evidently printed by H. Hills (the Roundhead printer!). See “*The Fountain of Slander Discovered*. By William Walwyn, Merchant: London, Printed by H. Hills, and are to be sold by W. Larnar, at the sign of the Blackmore, near Bishops-gate. 1649 (in MS.) May 30.” The notice of “The Printer to the Reader” begins “Mend the Printers faults, as thou doest them espy, | For the Author lies in Goal but knows not why.”

*Measurement*:—Binding  $6\frac{3}{4}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $5\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Pica.

*Signatures*:—B 1 leaf (page 1); then 7 leaves, commencing A ij. (In all probability B, as the first signature, is simply a misprint for A i.) B and C in eights (A iiiij is misprinted for B iiiij); D to V in fours; X 4 leaves; Y 2 leaves; and A 8 leaves.

24  
**Eikon Basileum.**

THE  
**POVRTRAICTVRE**  
 OF  
**HIS SACRED**  
**M A I E S T I E**  
 IN  
**HIS SOLITVDES**  
 AND  
**S V F F E R I N G S.**

• ROM. 8.  
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*



**A T P A R I S,**

And are to be sold at a Surgeons shope in the rue Be-  
 thisy, ouer against the lord President Belicure.

**M. D C. XLIX.**

*MS. Inscription*:—On Title page, “24.”

Bound in white vellum, evidently exactly as first issued.

19th in Wagstaffe's first list.

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Single page plate of the King kneeling, on both knees, at a table. Inscription at foot of plate, commencing: “*Christe iubes, pereat gemmis onerata corona.*” Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text 1–196, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.*” | The Declaration, Prayers, Letter, Relations, and An Epitaph, pp. 1–15, ending “*I. H. | FINIS.*” Verso of 15 blank. 1 blank leaf. The Contents only include the *Eikon*. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. Number of Prayers, 4. The running title of the first 112 pages is in smaller type than in the remaining pages. The head lines of pp. 2 and 3 of the Declaration are reversed.

*Measurement:*—Binding 6 $\frac{5}{8}$  by 4; text 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  by 3.

*Size of type:*—Pica.

5

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTY  
IN  
HIS SOLITVDES  
AND  
SVFFERINGS.

Rom. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.**Bona agere, & malipari, Regnum eō.*

Printed M. DC. XLIX.

*MS. Inscriptions:*—“JOHN | GARDNIR.” | “So falls that statly | Cedar.” | etc., etc.

18th in Wagstaffe's first list.

*Another copy*, lacking all after p. 200. It has evidently been read over and over many times.

Bound in old black morocco. Gilt edges.

*MS. Inscription:*—“THOS. COSER'S Book.”

*Signatures:*—A to O in eights (O 8 blank).

*Paging:*—1-216 (I presume; but as the corner is torn off last leaf, it is impossible to affirm beyond p. 214).

*Description:*—Title page (as fac-simile), with verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text, 1-204, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” | Title page of “A | Perfect Copie of | PRAYERS, | Used by His | MAIESTIE | In the time of His | Sufferings. | Delivered to Doctour JUXON | Bishop of LONDON immediately | before his Death. | Also a Copie of a Letter from the | PRINCE. | (A block.) | Printed Ann. Dom. 1649.” | Text, pp. 205-216, ending “J. H. | FINIS.” | 1 blank leaf at the end. The Contents only include the *Eikon*. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 4.

Mr. FALCONER MADAN's copy, “(5).”

This copy is very imperfect.

Old leather binding.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{4}$  by 3; text  $4\frac{1}{4}$  by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A 6 leaves; B to O in twelves.

*Paging*:—1-312 (*Eikon 1-294*).

*Description*:—3 blank leaves. Recto of next blank. On verso “*The Explanation of the EMBLEME*.” (in English only). Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Title page (as fac-simile); verso blank. Contents 3 leaves; verso of third blank. License to printer, 1 leaf (see below). Text, pp. 1-294, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt*.” Title page of “*HIS*

*Eikon Basiliæ.*

THE  
POVR TRAICTVRE  
*Edward* Of His Saere *Proger*  
MAIESTIE  
*her In His booke*  
SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati,  
Regum est.*

The Second Edition much Enlarged.



H A G E,

Printed by SAMUEL BROUN,

M. DC. XLIX.

printed Exemplaers. And there | aboue a summe of three hunder'd Ca- | rolus guldens to be applied, one third | part thereof to the profit off the Officer | that shall Challenge it, the other third | part, for the poore; and the remaininge | third part for the use of the said | SAMVEL BROVN, Reserved never | the lesse, that the said BROVNE, shall | be bound to seeke this our Octroy, & | also to obtaine the Consent of the Pro- | vince or Provinces, where he shall | think good to print, to set forth and to sel, this Booke. Given in the Assembly | of the said High Lords States Generall. | In the Hague this second of April 1649. | Subscribed, | *Johan van Reede* | By ordre of the said Lords. | *J. Spronssen*.”

Bound in old black leather. This copy belongs to the Cardiff Free Library.\*

*MS. Inscription*:—On Title page, “EDWARD PROGER | his book.” “CARDIFF FREE LIBRARY” in plate.

\* The copies of *Eikon Basilike* in the Cardiff Free Library belong to the “Tonn Collection,” which was purchased in 1891. This valuable library consisted chiefly of Welsh books and MSS., but also included a number of sixteenth and seventeenth century books. The collection was made by several generations of the family of Rees, of Llandovery, Carmartheshire, which included the Rev. Professor Rice Rees, author of *An Essay on the Welsh Saints*, and other works; the Rev. W. Jenkins Rees, editor of *Liber Laudavensis*, and a literary Welshman well-known in his day. The Welsh MSS. Society owed its existence mainly to this family, and the valuable publications of that society were printed at the press of Mr. William Rees, of the Tonn, Llandovery. The editions are Nos. 2, 13, 14, 27, 30, 41, and 47.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $4\frac{7}{8}$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—¶ 8 leaves; A to Dd in twelves; Ee 4 leaves. *Paging*:—I-280; I-12; I-360 (*Eikon* I-182).

*Description*:—The *Eikon* is preceded by the “RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ | CAROLINÆ. | OR THE | VVORKS | OF THAT | GREAT MONARCH | AND | GLORIOUS MARTYR | King CHARLS the I. | Collected together, and digested in order, | according to their several Subjects, | CIVIL and SACRED. | The Contents appear in the next ensuing pages. | 2 King 23.25. And like unto him there was no King be- | fore him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, &c. | Heb. 11.4. Being dead, he yet speaketh. | (Rose, harp, C. R., thistle, and fleur-de-lys, as on Title page of *Eikon*.) | HAGUE, | Printed by Samuel Browne. 1650.” | Verso blank. “SERENISS. PRINCIPI AC DOMINO | CAROLO. II. FILIONAT. MAJ. CAR. I | MARTYRO CORONATI. | VIRTUTUM PATERN. ANTITYP. VERO | REGN. HÆRED. AC SUCCES. INDUBIO. | AVITÆ RELIG. LEGUM AC LIBERTAT | [QUAS IMPIA NOVATORUM RABIES | CONCULCAVIT] | INSTAURATORI DESIDERATISS. | SACRAS HASCE SANCTISS. MARTYRIS | RELIQUIAS. | DIVINOS MENTIS HEROICÆ | PARTUS. | AETERNA VIRTUT. REGIARUM | MONUMENTA. | HUMILIME CONSECRAT | MAJEST. VESTRAE SUBDITUS. | PATR. NUPER SERVUS | DEVOTISS.” | I page, followed by general Contents (11 pages). Then the Notice to the Reader, and Errata. Text of *Reliquie* I-280 and I-12. “EIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.” | Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. “Upon His Sacred Majesties incomparable | EIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | Dread Sir,” | a poem of 36 lines, signed “F: N: G:” | Text I-182, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | (catchword) THE.” Following the *Eikon* are: “THE PAPERS | which passed; First, between | His MAJESTY and Mr. Alexander | Henderson at Newcastle, An. Dom. 1646. | Secondly, Between His Majesty | and Mr. Marþal Mr. Vines, Mr. Caril, | and Mr. Seaman, . . . . at Newport . . . . An. Dom. 1648.” | &c., &c. “Diverse



## M. DC. XLIX.

of His MAJESTIES Pray- | ers: . . . . .” After the Prayers (6), follow Quæries, Reasons, names of the King’s Judges, Relations, &c., &c., Dr. Lotus’ Speech (in Latin and English), and, lastly, Epitaphs upon the King. These Subjects are paged 185-361. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and text. The text of pp. 160-1 is transposed. (?) 26th in Wagstaffe’s first list.

Bound in calf, gilt. *MS. Inscriptions*:—On p. 1 of the *Reliquie*, “EDMUND BARRELL.” At bottom of p. 336 “Broughton. Præter Maidstoniens!—dignatus | Regis Regum sententiam profavi.” Same as B.M. 599. a. 33. *Another copy*.—“E. SOLLY.”—Has a (wrong) Title page printed in place of the missing original.\*

\* For an account of Mrs. John Skrine’s copy of this edition, see next page.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{7}{8}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{7}{8}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Pica.

*Signatures*:—A to I in twelves; K 10 leaves (K 10 blank); L 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-230; 1-8.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Recto of next blank. On verso “The Explanation of the Embleme” (in Latin and English). Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank.

*Eikon Basillij.*

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
IN HIS  
*Solitudes and Sufferings.*

With a perfect Copie of Prayers  
used by His MAJESTY in the  
time of His Sufferings:

Delivered to Doctor Juxon, Bishop of London,  
immediately before His Death.

R o M. 8.  
*More then Conqueror, &c.*

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium ait.

Printed in the Yeer, 1649,

Society. I leave y<sup>s</sup> Book as a valuable jewel to my Son, who in his childhood was very deare to ye St who presented me ys Book & who bound it w<sup>th</sup> her own hands | ANNE GRIGG | March | 1678.”

Mrs. SKRINE adds, under date the 18th January, 1895:—“The book was bequeathed to me by my father, into whose hands it came on his buying, fifty years ago, a house in Kent, together with its furniture, formerly the residence of a gentleman known as a connoisseur. Inside a fine cinque-cento cabinet, full of secret drawers, he found this book, and nothing else. He showed it to Professor J. E. Mayor, when the Professor was writing his *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*. The Professor was of opinion that its witness gave strong support to the view that Ferrar and Little Gidding may have been concerned in producing the work.”

32nd in Wagstaffe's second list.

Contents 1 leaf. Text pp. 1-230. Between pp. 196-7 is oval portrait of “*Carolus Princeps Walliae | Dux Cornubiae &c: | Aetatis sue 19.*” “*RICHMOND*” engraved on a label close to the face. Page 230 ends “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.*” 1 blank leaf (K 10). The next leaf commences: “*A Perfect Copie of | PRAYERS | used | By His MAJESTY, | In the time of His SUFFERINGS. | Delivered to Doctor Juxon, | Bishop of London, immediately | before His Death.*” | pp. 1-5. The Prayers are followed by the Relations (3), pp. 5-7, and “*An Epitaph upon King | CHARLES.*” | commencing “*SO falls that stately Cedar, while it stood,*” and ending “*It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms shame.*” | and signed “*J. H.*” 2 blank leaves at the end. The Contents only include the *Eikon*. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents but not in text. Number of Prayers, 3.

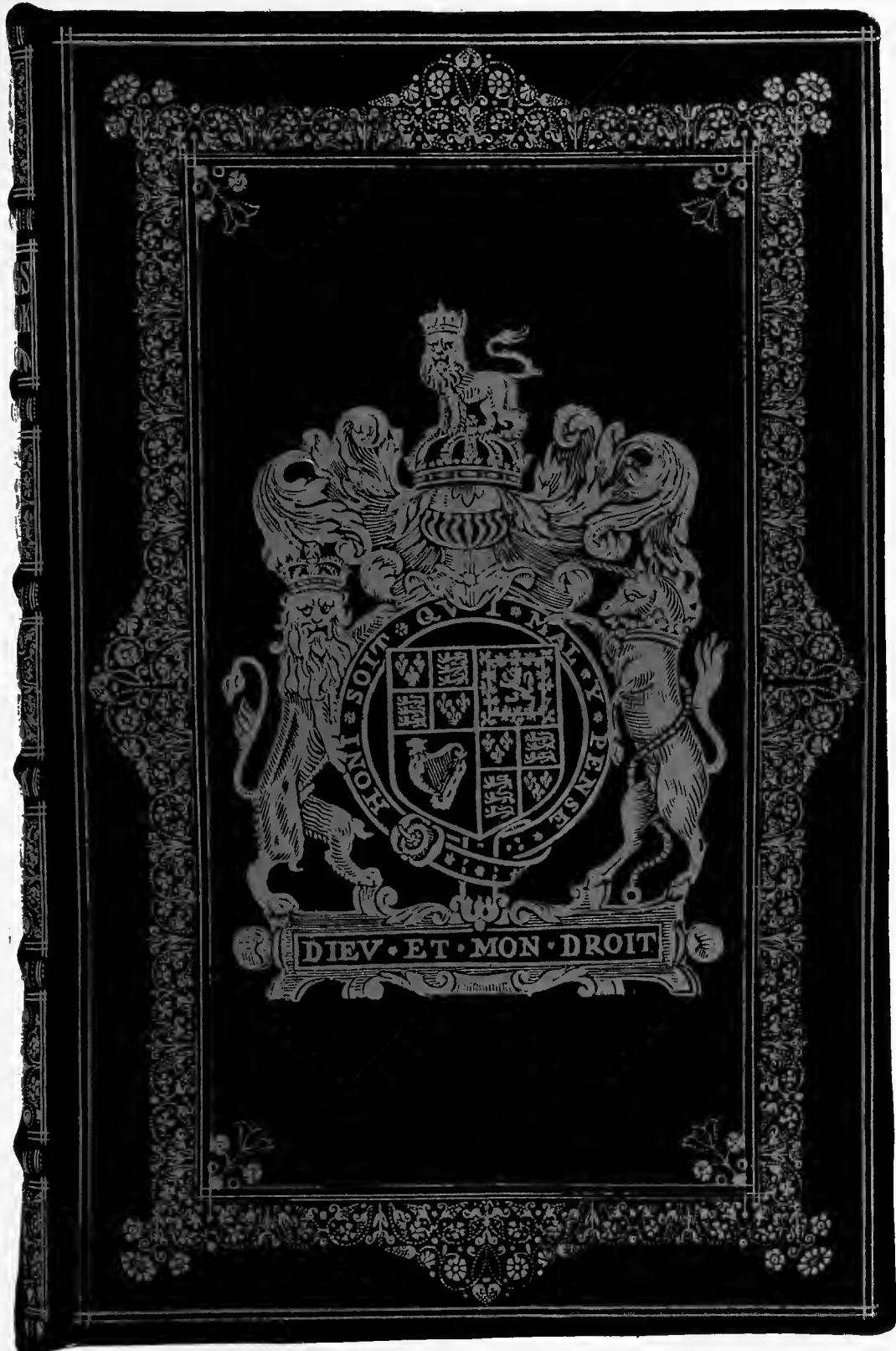
Bound in old leather.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On the verso of front cover, “*ROBERT PEMBERTON | his Booke. 27.*” | On the recto of first blank leaf, “*ANN BEESLEY | her Book.*” | and “*THOS. LEIGH.*”

Mrs. JOHN SKRINE, of Glenalmond, has the following copy of No. 31:—It is bound in leather stamped in gold, and bears on each cover the initials “C. R.” encircled by a crown. On the fly-leaf is the following ancient inscription: “This book was bound at little Giding in Huntingtonshire by ye much celebrated Mrs Mary Colet ye beloved neece of ye famous Mr Nicolas Farar, who honour'd her w<sup>th</sup> ye title of ye chief of his most pious







Binding Illustration No. 2.

(See Description of *Eikon* No. 44.)



### 33.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long primer.

*Signatures*:—\* 2 leaves; B to M 10 in twelves.

*Paging*:—I-260 (*Eikon* I-246).

*Description*:—Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents, 1 leaf. Text of *Eikon*, pp. I-246, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” Prayers, &c., pp. 247-60, ending “FINIS.” Only 3 Prayers, viz.: *Captivity*, *Affliction*, and *Imminent Danger*. The Contents include the Prayers, &c. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text.

*Eikon Basilikæ.*

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAIESTIE  
IN HIS  
*Solitudes and Sufferings.*

With a perfect Copie of  
Prayers used by His Majesty in  
the time of his Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor Juxon, Bishop of  
London, immediately before his Death.

---

R O M . 8 .  
*More than Conqueror, &c.*  
Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

---

Printed in the Yeer 1649.

Regium est. | Printed in the Yeer 1649.” Verso of Title page blank. The Contents, 1 leaf. Text of the volume, pp. I-288, ending “my Reasons. | FINIS.” Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. The Contents include—(29) “Divers Prayers”; (30) “His Speeches . . . .” and “His Reasons . . . .” This copy is very imperfect, and lacks all between pp. 266-87.

In very worn contemporary calf binding. (The Title page of the copy of this edition is too soiled to be reproduced.)

The volume is in sad condition, but very interesting. From its appearance, it may well have been carried in the pocket and read daily for a hundred years.

Kindly lent by the Rev. H. JACKSON LAWLER, 50, Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.

Bound in old black leather.

The Rev. J. BECK, Rector of Bildeston, Suffolk, has kindly lent me this, and he also has copies of the following: Nos. 4 (containing the old *Manuscript Inscription*, “EDMOND FERRERS | His Booke August | the 3rd 1656”), 6, 19, 22, 39, 44, 49, and 62.

14th in Wagstaffe’s second list.

### 34.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{3}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Pica.

*Signatures*:—A 2 leaves; B to M in twelves, and the last leaf of the text in this copy is N 1.

*Paging*:—I-288. (*Eikon* seems to have been I-268.)

*Description*:—Title page, as follows: “Εἰκὼν Βασιλικῆς | THE | POURTRACTURE | OF | HIS SACRED | MAIESTIE, | IN HIS | Solitudes and Sufferings. | With a perfect Copy of Prayers used | by his Majesty in the time of his sufferings. | Delivered to Dr. JUXON Bishop of London, | immediately before his Death. | ROM. 8. | More than Conquerour, &c. | Bona agere, & mala pati,

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{3}{4}$  by  $3\frac{3}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{3}{4}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Pica.

*Signatures*:—B to N in twelves; Recto of B 1 is page 1. (The Epitaph is on a single leaf at the end, after N 12.)

*Paging*:—1-288 (*Eikon 1-269*).

*Eikon Basileus.*

---

THE  
POURTRAC TURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE,  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

With a perfect Copy of Prayers used  
by his Majesty in the time of his sufferings.

Delivered to Dr. Juxon Bishop of London,  
immediately before his Death.

---

R O M. 8.  
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est*

---

Printed at London, 1649.

oval portrait of the Prince of Wales: “*Natus May 29 Ano 1630 Aetatis sue 19| D.*” The Contents includes Prayers, Speeches, etc. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 4. I think that Thomas Newcomb printed this edition.

Bound in old leather. Gilt edges. Crown and “C. R.” on the covers.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On recto of first blank leaf, “I S.” | and “H: R: COURTENAY. | given him by M<sup>rs</sup> I SOURTON 1724.”

(?) 9th in Wagstaffe's second list.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Near the bottom of the engraving is “D.” “The Explanation of the Embleme,” in Latin and English. Verso blank. Title page (as fac-simile), with verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. Text, pp. 1-269, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ Bella negarunt. | FINIS.” Verso blank. Then follows “A | PERFECT COPY OF | PRAYERS, | Used by His | MAJESTIE | in the time of His | SUFFERINGS. | Delivered to Dr. Juxon Bishop of | London immediately before his Death. | And his Speeches to the Lady Elizabeth and | the Duke of Gloucester. | With | His Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction | of the High Court of Justice; intended to | to be delivered, Munday 22 of Janu. | 1648. | Also, | A Copy of a LETTER from the | PRINCE. | (An ornament.) | Printed Anno Domini 1649.” Verso blank. Text of the Prayers, etc., pp. 273-88, ending “was hindered to shew my Reasons. | FINIS.” Recto of next leaf contains “An Epitaph upon King | CHARL<sup>S</sup>.” | signed “J. H.” Verso blank. 1 blank leaf at end. Between pp. 232-3 is

*Measurement*:—Binding  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{3}{8}$ ; text  $3\frac{3}{8}$  by  $1\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to T in twelves; V 2 leaves.

*Paging*:—I-436 (*Eikon* I-412).

*Description*:—Title page (as fac-simile), with print of Royal Arms, crown and “C. R.” on verso.

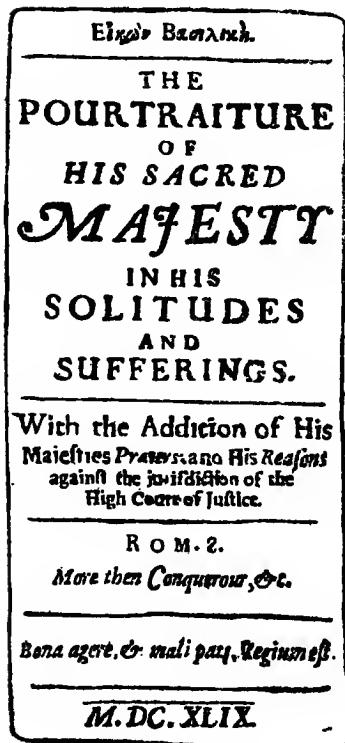
Contents 2 leaves. On recto of next leaf is “*An explanation of the Embleme.*” | (in

Latin), and on verso an English translation of the same. Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand (“*Guil: Marball Sculpsit*”). Text, pp. I-412, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.*” Following the *Eikon* are the Prayers, and “*A Copy of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE | to the KING.*” | 4 leaves, pp. 413-19. “*His Majesties Reasons,*” the Relations, “*An Epitaph on the KING, | who was beheaded at White-hall, | on Tuesday, Jan. 30. and buried | at Windsor on Saturday | Febr. 17 1648.*” | “*Another Epitaph upon | King CHARLES.*” | pp. 420-36, ending “*J. H. | FINIS.*” 2 blank leaves. Page 354 contains oval portrait of Charles II: “*Natus May 29 An 1630 Ætatis sue 19. | b*” The Contents include: “*Additions. | A Prayer in time of Captivity | A Prayer and Confession, made in | and for the times of affliction | A Prayer in time of eminent danger | A Copy of a Letter sent from the | Prince to the King | His Majesties Reasons against the | pretended Jurisdiction of the high | Court of Justice, which he inten- | ded to have delivered in Writing | on Munday January 22. 1648. | A Relation of what passed between | his Majesty, the Lady Elizabeth, | and the Duke*

*of Gloucester, the | day before His Death | Another Relation from the Lady Eli- | zabeths own Hand | Two Epitaphs.*” Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 3. The first page of Contents is numbered (apparently in error) 413; the others are not numbered.

Bound in old black morocco, with Crown and “C. R.” on each cover. Gilt edges. It has had a clasp.

The long and narrow shape is understood to have been intended to recall the picture of a coffin, in memory of the King’s death.



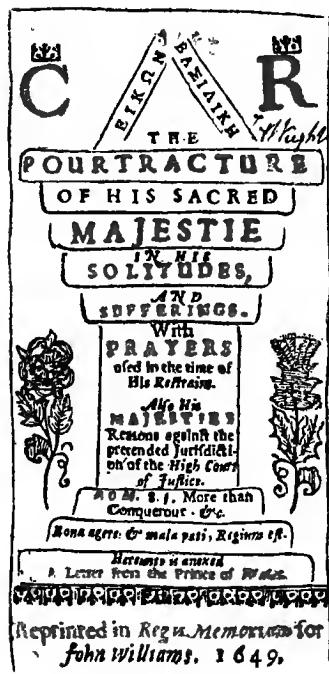
*Measurement*:—Binding 4 by 2; text  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type:—* Nonpareil.

*Signatures*:—A to H in twelves; ¶ 12 leaves; ¶¶ 11 leaves (probably should be 12).

Paging:—1-175 (the *Eikon*); 1-42.

*Description*.—On recto of first leaf, a Crown above a device with the motto: “DEUS · EST · NOBIS · SOL · ET · SCUTUM.” At the foot of this, the first page, is a large A for Alpha, to correspond with Omega (see below). On verso “*The Explanation of the Embleme.*” Title page (as fac-simile). On verso “¶ An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.” Contents 2 leaves. Double page plate of 4 heads—Charles I, the Queen, and apparently Charles II and James II. Text 1-175, ending “Vota



f, a Crown above a device with the motto: "DEUS · EST · NOBIS · SOL ·  
this, the first page, is a large A for Alpha, to correspond with Omega  
*Explanation of the | Embleme.*" Title page (as fac-simile). On  
ng | CHARLS." Contents 2 leaves. Double page plate of 4 heads—  
apparently Charles II and James II. Text 1-175, ending "Vota  
dabunt, quæ bella ne-[gårunt.] | Ω." The initial letters of some of the  
chapters are blocks with portraits and subject pieces (see p. 45). "HIS |  
MAJESTIES | PRAYERS | in the time of his | RESTRAINT." |  
3 pages. "His MAJESTIES Reasons against the pre- | tendea  
Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, | which he intended to  
deliver in writing on Mun- | day, Januarie 22. Anno Dom. 1648." |  
3 pages. Relations 2 pages. "A Copie of a Letter which  
was | sent from the PRINCE to | the KING; Dated from the |  
HAGUE Jan. 23. 1648." | 1 page. (The Prayers, Reasons, and  
Letter are not paged.) (Small ornament on recto of next leaf,  
with verso blank.) Then follows "THE | PAPERS | which passed  
at | NEW-CASTLE | Betwixt | HIS SACRED | MAJESTIE | And |  
M<sup>r</sup>. AL. HENDERSON: | Concerning the change of | Church-Government. |  
Anno Domini 1646. | (A block of a thistle.) | LONDONC. | Printed  
for R. Royston, at the | Angel in Ivie-lane. 1649." Verso blank.  
Paged 1-42. The Contents include the Prayers (3), Reasons, and  
Speech. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text.

The tail-piece on last page is the same as at end of Contents (p. 258) of "MIDGLAY—ROBSON" (Latin edition), No. 51.

Front cover old needlework, with remains of silver thread embroidery, and back cover old calf.

*MS. Inscriptions*—On Title page, “I H WRIGHT;” on Epitaph, after CHARLS, “the 1<sup>st</sup> of | Happy & Blefsed Memory;” on recto of folding plate, “This book is in | invaluable.”

Mr. T. Etherington Cooke, F.S.A., Scotland, has a copy of this edition. It is beautifully bound in old red morocco, richly gilt. Mr. T. Etherington Cooke adds to his description the interesting P.S., "I set great store by this little gem, as it first set me book collecting, many years ago." (?) 16th in Wagstaffe's second list.

38.

*Another copy*—“IOHN HUNTER IUN<sup>R</sup>”—differs from the first, in having “*John Williams. 1649*” in much smaller type on the Title page. The block with “DEUS EST NOBIS,” etc., is absent, and “A Copie of a Letter . . . ” has been set up as in Nos. 39 and 40, instead of as in No. 37.

Mr. MAXWELL LYTE, C.B., has a copy.

*Another copy.—“ELIZABETH DARELL.”*

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On verso of front cover, “3073.” | “ELIZABETH DARELL” | 1649.” On recto of first blank leaf, “See an Account of | this Book in Burnet’s | Hist: of his own Times | Vol: I. Pag: 76. Dutch Edit.” “Q. If this was | not the King’s | own Book?” On verso of second blank leaf at end of book, “ELIZABETH DARELL | her book given her | by her dere frind: | :: E F :: | :: 1649 ::” B. M. 808. a. 8. is a copy of this edition.

*Measurement*:—Binding 4 by  $2\frac{7}{8}$ ; text  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $1\frac{9}{16}$ .

*Size of type*:—Nonpareil.

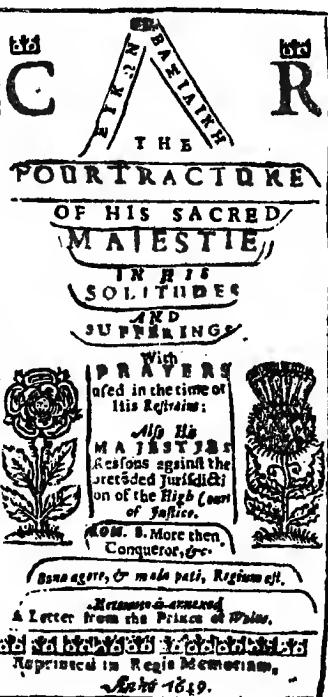
*Paging*:—I-175.

*Signatures*:—a 4 leaves; A to D in twelves; e 2 leaves; E to H in twelves.

*Description*:—3 blank leaves. Recto or next blank. On verso “*The Explanation of the Embleme.*”

Folding plate of the King kneeling, with a crown of thorns in his right hand. Title page (as fac-simile). On verso “¶ An Epitaph upon King | CHARLES.” Contents 2 leaves.

Text I-175, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negâ- | runt. |* Ω.” (Between pp. 150-1 is a double-page plate of Charles I, the Queen, Charles II and James II.) The remaining 9 pages consist of “*HIS | MAJESTIES | PRAYERS |* in the time of his *| RESTRAINT.*” | “*His MAJESTIES Reasons against the pre- | tended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Ju- | stice, which he intended to deliver in writing on | Munday January 22. An. Dom. 1648.*” | “*A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the Lady | Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester, the day | before his Death.*” | “*A Copie of a Letter which was | sent from the PRINCE | to the KING; Dated | from the Hague Jan. 23. | Anno Dom. 1648.*” | ending “*For the KING.*” These last 9 pages are not numbered. 3 blank leaves at the end. The Contents include the Prayers, Reasons, and Speech. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 3. From p. 89 to end of book a more condensed faced type is used than in the preceding pages. The capitals used in the running title, and the figures in paging, are larger than those of pp. I-88.



In contemporary black morocco binding, gilt, with a Crown and “C. R.” on each cover. Silver clasps. Marble end papers.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On verso of first blank leaf (undeciphered).

Same edition as B. M. Grenville, 11,666.

Canon WILSON, of Edinburgh, has a copy, which belonged to his grandfather, Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen.

Miss EDITH M. CORDEROY has one of these little *Eikons*, in old embroidered needlework binding, representing a portrait of Charles the First. The tiny volume has been rightly regarded as a precious inheritance. The interior is in fine condition, and has no inscriptions.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $3\frac{7}{8}$  by 2; text  $3\frac{3}{8}$  by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Size of type*:—Nonpareil.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves: B to L 8 in twelves.

*Paging*:—1-226 (*Eikon 1-185*).

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. A print of Royal Arms and Crown, with “C” and “R” at top corners. On verso “¶ The Explanation | of the Embleme.” | Folding plate. Title page (as fac-simile). On verso “*An EPITAPH upon | King CHARLES. | SO falls that stately Cedar;*” | ending “It was Thy glory, but the Kingdoms shame. | J. H.” Contents 2 leaves, with verso of second blank. Text, pp. 1-185, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.*” Then follows “THE | PAPERS | WHICH | Passed at Newcastle betwixt His | Sacred Majesty and | Mr. Alex. Henderson, | Concerning the Change of Church- | Government. Anno Dom. 1646.” | pp. 186-226, ending “*Newcastle, | July 16. 1646. | C. R. | The End.*” “*His | MAJESTIES | PRAYERS | in the time of His | RESTRAINT.*” | 3 pages, ending “*Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.*” | “*Munday, 29. January, 1648. | ¶ A true Relation of the Kings Speech to the | Ladie Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester | the day before His Death.*” | &c., 2 pages. (The Prayers and Relations are not paged.) On the last page is “*A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the | Prince to the King; Dated from the Hague, | Jan. 23. Anno Dom. 1648.*” | ending “*The Superscription was thus, | FOR THE KING. | FINIS.*” 2 blank leaves. The Contents include the Newcastle Papers, Prayers, and Relations. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 3.

The initial letters to some of the chapters in this and the two preceding editions are engravings with portrait figures. (See p. 45.)

Bound in old red morocco, gilt. Gilt edges.

*MS. Inscription*:—On recto of second blank leaf, “HARRIOT HATLEY.”

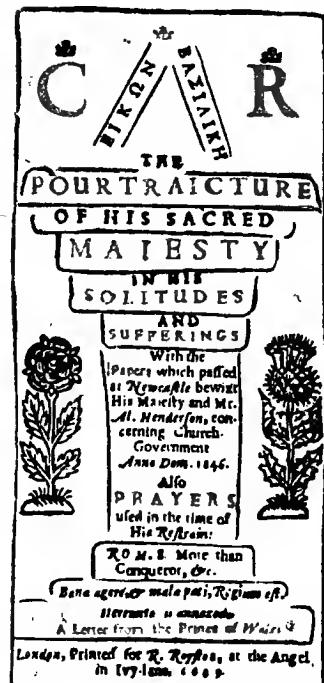
Same as B. M. 8122. a.; also Mr. Falconer Madan's No. “(25).”

Mr. J. T. HANSON, F.R.I.B.A., 54, Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, seems to have a copy of this edition. He writes:—“I have a copy, which has been in my family from the day it was given to them—such is the tradition—by Charles II. It is bound in brown leather, and has a Crown with ‘C. R.’—one letter on either side of it—in gold.”

Mr. G. J. F. TUPPER has a copy of this edition.

Mr. ARTHUR R. JEMMETT, 47, Alexandra Road, Wimbledon, seems to have a copy of this edition.

(?) 15th in Wagstaffe's second list.



*The following describes a volume of the Works printed in 1657 to go with this Eikon:—*

The general Title page is as follows:—"RELIQUIÆ SACRÆ | CAROLINÆ. | OR THE | VVORKS | OF THAT | GREAT MONARCH | AND | GLORIOUS MARTYR | King CHARLES the I. | Collected together, and digested in | order, according to their several Subjects, | CIVIL and SACRED. | The Contents appear in the ensuing Pages. | 2 King, 23. 25. *And like unto him there was | no King before him, that turned to the Lord | with all his heart, &c. | Heb. 11. 4. Being dead, he yet speaketh.* | G. R. | HAGUE, | Printed by Samuel Browne, 1657." Verso blank. Latin Dedication. The verso of Dedication and 19 pages following are occupied by "The Contents of this Book, | containing Matters both | Civill and Sacred." On the verso of the last leaf of Contents is the following:—"THE Reader is desired to take | notice, That whereas there is | published a late Book, intituled, Cer- | tamen Religiosum, Or a Conference be- | tween His Majesty and the late decea- | sed Marquess of Worcester, concern- | ing divers points of Religion, That His | Majesty is much wronged in that | broken and imperfect Relation, | which depends upon the memory & | credit of an obscure person, who, as | it seems composed most of it, and | published it divers years after the | Conference; and that it doth nei- | ther in the stile, nor matter, agree | with his Majesties other Works, but | in some things contradicts his Maje- | sties judgement expressed in his o- | ther Tracts, as may appear in many | places; especially, in his Papers | with Henderson, Paper 5. compared | with this Pamphlet, p. 116, &c. For | which reasons, as also because it is | not attested by any authentick Wit- | nes, and seems to be published for | other ends then are pretended, (as | the Reader may easily dicern) it | was not therefore thought worthy to | be joyned with his Majesties other | genuine and undoubted Works." Then follow His Majesty's Speeches, Messages for Peace, Letters, the Papers which passed . . . . at the Treaty at Newport, the Prayers, and "Severall things relating to His Majesties Death," etc., pp. 1-429. The Prayers in this (the *Reliquiae* portion) are the following:—"1. | A Prayer used by His Majesty, at his entrance | in state into the Cathedral Church of Exeter, | after he had defeated the Earl of Essex his For- | ces in Cornwall." "2. | A Prayer drawn by His Majesties special di- | rection and Dictates, for a blessing on the | Treaty at Uxbridge." "3. | A Prayer drawn by His Majesties special di- | rections, for a blessing on the Treaty at New- | port in the Isle of Wight." "4. | A Prayer for pardon of sin, &c." "A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of | Affliction." "A Prayer in time of imminent Danger."

This volume (the *Reliquiae*) is lettered on binding "K CHARLE | WORKS | VOL I." The other volume (the *Eikon*) is lettered "K CHAR | WORKS | VOL II." and contains the same as No. 40 ("HARRIOT HATLEY").

The two volumes (*Reliquiae* and *Eikon*) are bound in old red morocco, gilt. Gilt edges. Marble end papers. They were probably bound by Samuel Browne.

These were No. 30 in the last part of the library of the late Rev. W. Bentinck L. Hawkins, sold at Christie's in 1895. This collector had quite a passion for red bindings. His tastes had been developed early—he used to say that his father took him to attend book sales when he was only fourteen years old.

Captain G. ARMYTAGE, the Court, Ackworth, Pontefract, has this edition bound with a copy of the *Reliquiae*, which lacks Title page, but seems to have been printed to match this *Eikon*. This copy bears, in old writing, the name "JASPER SHAKESPEAR."

Mr. HENRY JENNER, of the British Museum, has this *Reliquiae* with *Eikon*, bound in one volume. Old black calf, with Crown and "C. R."

*Measurement*:—Binding  $4\frac{1}{8}$  by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{8}$  by  $2\frac{1}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Brevier.

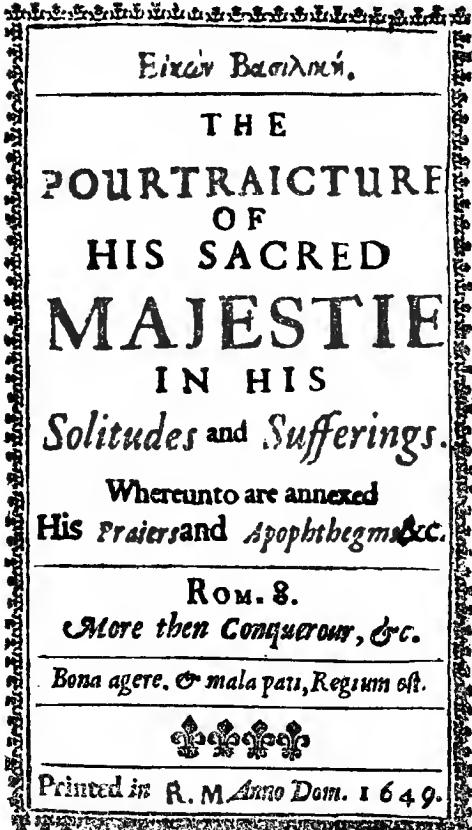
*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves: B to L in twelves; M 2 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-182 (*Eikon*); 1-12; 1-48.

*Description*:—Folding plate (“*Guil: Marshall delineata: et Sculpsit.*”), on which is “The Explanation of the EMBLEME.” | in Latin and English. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. “Upon His Sacred Majesties incomparable | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | Dread Sir! | COouldst Thou . . .” | &c., 1 leaf, signed “F. N. G.” Contents 3 pages. (Following the Contents of Chapter 28 is “Whereunto are annexed | 1. Four Praiers used by His Majestie. | 2. His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Court | of Justice. | 3. A Letter from the Prince. | 4. His Majestie’s Discours with His Children. | 5. The Ladie Elisabeth’s Relations. | 6. His Majestie’s Apophthegms, Theological, Moral, | and Political. | 7. An Epitaph upon the King.”) | “An Epitaph upon King Charls.” | beginning “SO fall’s that stately Cedar.” Below it are the lines: “ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θείων, Πατρικῶν τε | Νόμων, ὅχ’ ἀριστος | Σκηπτέχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἀλειτέων | χερούν ἐπιπτεν.”\* (At the top of p. 1 is an emblematical device, with the words “VIA · VNA · COR · VNAM.”) | “Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.” Text, pp. 1-182, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | Hebr. 11. 4. | Αποθανῶν ἔτι λαλεῖται. | FINIS.” | (Between pp. 156-7 is oval portrait of Charles II, with crown of thorns on his left: “*Natus Maii 29. Ano 1630. Etatis sue 19.*”) Then follows (4) “PRAIERS, | Used by His Majestie in the time of His | SUFFERINGS. | Delivered to Doctor Juxon bishop of | London immediately before His Death. | Also a Letter from the Prince.” | (So runs the heading, but the Letter does not appear until after the “Reasons.”) Text of Prayers, 1-4. “His Majestie’s Reasons against | the pretended Jurisdiction of the | high Court of Justice, which Hee | intended to deliver in Wri- | ting on Mondaie | Jan. 22. 1648.” | Text 5-8. “A Copie of a Letter which was sent | from the PRINCE to the KING; | Dated from the Hague, | Jan. 23. 1648.” | 1 page (9). “Mondaie 29<sup>th</sup>. Januarie, 1648. | A true Relation of the KING’S Speech” | etc. Text 10-12, ending “Ω.” Title page: “ΑΠΟΡΗΤΗΓΜΑΤΑ | Aurea, Regia, | CAROLINA. | ΑΠΟΡΗΤΗΓΜΑΤΑ | I. Theological. | II. Moral. | III. Political. | Collected out of the Incomparable | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ | of | His most glorious Majestie | King CHARLS the First. | Vincit qui patitur. | Fortior est qui se quam qui fortissima— | Αποθανῶν ἔτι λαλεῖται. Hebr. 11. 4. | LONDON, | Printed by William Du-gard, and are to bee | sold by Francis Eglesfield at the Marigold | in St Pauls Church-yard. 1649.” Verso blank. Text 1-48, ending “FINIS.” Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text.

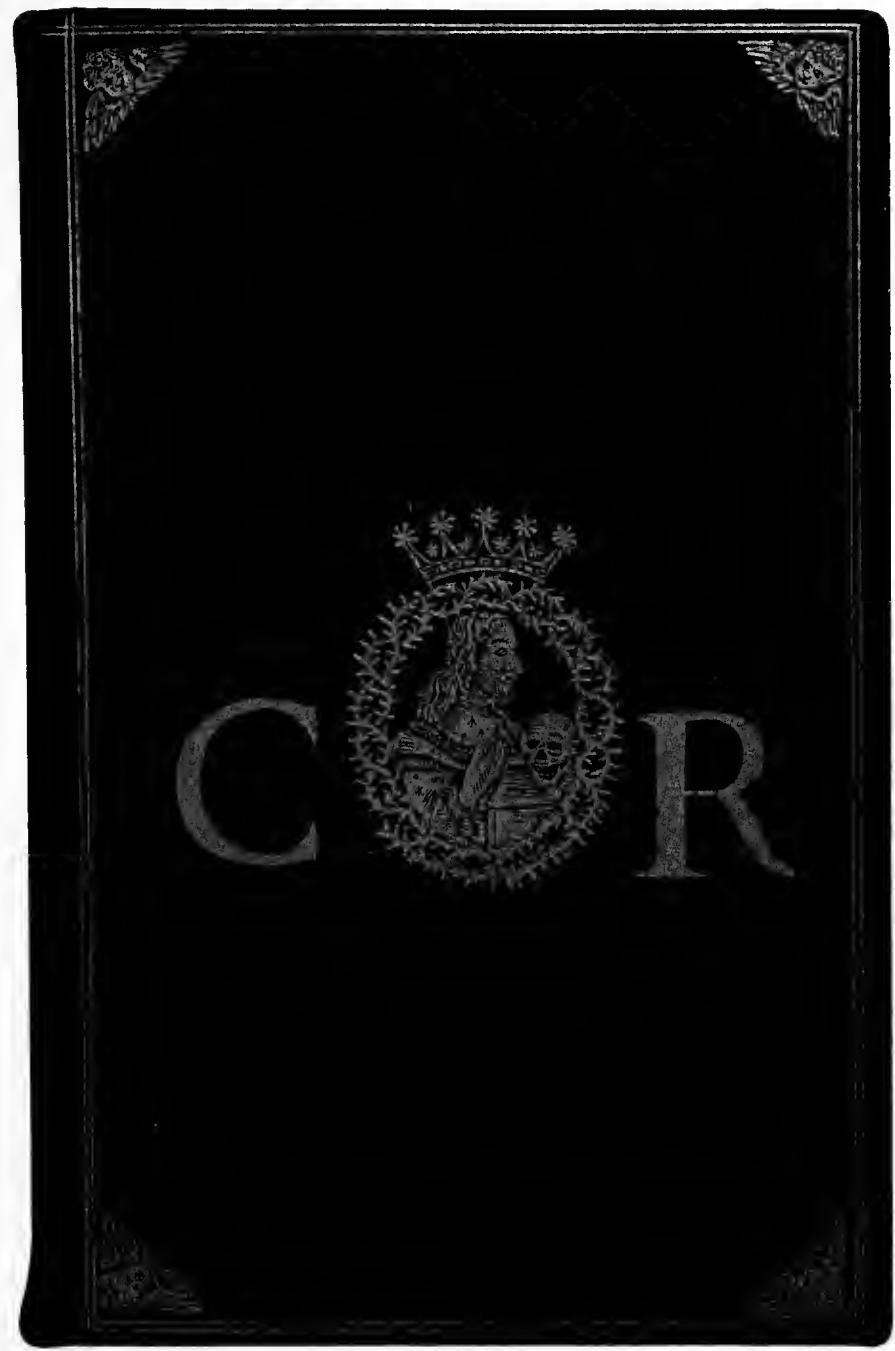
Old black calf binding. Black edges. Metal clasps. Evidently printed by William DuGard.  
(?) 23rd in Wagstaffe’s second list.

\* This much discussed quotation is from the *Misopogon* of the Emperor Julian, and has been rendered:—“Christ has not in anything injured the State, nor has Constantius.”









Binding Illustration No. 3.

(See Description of *Eikon* No. 45.)



ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.  
 THE  
 POURTRAICTURE  
 OF  
 HIS SACRED  
 MAJESTIE  
 IN  
 HIS SOLITUDES  
 AND  
 SUFFERINGS:

Together with His Private Prayers, used in  
 the time of his restraint, and deliver-  
 ed to D. JUXON, Bishop of  
*London*, immediately  
 before his death.

---



---

R o m . 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

---

*Bona agere, & mala. pati, Regium est.*

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M D C X L I X.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $8\frac{1}{8}$  by  $5\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—16 point.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to R in eights; S 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—I-263 (*Eikon* I-251).

(See Water-marks, p. 69.)

*Description*:—Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand (“*Guil: Marſball delineau: et Sculpsit*”). Underneath the engraving is “The Explanation of the EMBLEME.” | in Latin and English, ending “Glorie, the just reward of Grace. | G. D.” Recto of next leaf blank. On verso, oval portrait of the King: “Charles by the grace of God, Kinge | of England, Scotland France and | Ireland, defendor of the faith, etc:” On recto of next leaf, the Royal Arms, with “C” and “R” at top corners, each letter being surmounted with a crown. Verso blank. Title page (as fac-simile). On verso the sentence “THE most high, most mighty, and | most excellent Prince, CHARLES, | by the grace of God King of England, | Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender | of the Faith, &c.” | in French, Latin, and English. The Contents 3 pages and part of the fourth. At end of Contents “*The Explanation of the Frontispiece.* | A Sacred heat inspires my Soul to trie” | ending “*Virtue oppreſt, doth grow more ſtraight and high.*” | (Ornamental head-piece.) | “ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.” Text I-251, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negārunt. | FINIS.” The verso blank. Then follows “*A perfect Copie of private Prayers used by His | MAJESTIE, in the time of | His Sufferings.*” Text of Prayers pp. 253-8, ending “FINIS.” “A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the | Prince to the KING; Dated from | the Hague, Jan. 23. 1648.” | occupies 1 page, ending “*For the King.*” “*A true Relation of the Kings Speech,*” &c., &c., 3 pp., ending “*Copia vera.*” “An Epitaph upon King | CHARLES. | SO falls that ſately Cedar; while it stood” | ending “*It was thy Glory, but the Kingdomes Shame.* | J. H. | FINIS.” Verso blank. 2 blank leaves. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. The Contents include Prayers, Speech, &c., &c. Number of Prayers, 4.

Old calf, gilt, has apparently been black. Black edges. Crown and “C. R.” on each cover.

Book plate of “THOMAS HAYWARD SOUTHBY | of Carswell.”

B. M. 599. e. II. is a copy of this edition.

In a glass case in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle is a copy of this edition, with a beautiful silver medallion head of Charles the First on the binding. Mr. Griggs made a splendid fac-simile of this for Mr. Holmes' book.

Mr. MORETON H. PHILLIPS, Picton House, Rayleigh, Essex, seems to have a copy of this edition, in a choice old binding.

This and Nos. 43 and 44 agree with the 5th in Wagstaffe's second list.

*Another copy*.—“ANN: ALLEN:”

Old morocco, with clasps.

*Another copy*.—“QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S COPY.” (Very probably had been bound for James II.)

Bound in black morocco, with fine gold tooling, and lettered at back “KING | CHARL.” (See Binding Illustration No. 1, following description of *Eikon* No. 16.)

Book plate of “GEORGE ORMEROD, D.C.L., | Sedbury Park.”

*MS. Inscriptions*:—“This copy of the *Eikon Basilike* was bought by me at the sale of Queen Charlotte's Library, (No. 3879) for £4 11 8 —, July 6, 1819. — — | — — — G. ORMEROD.”

'ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.  
 THE  
 POURTRAICTURE  
 OF  
 HIS SACRED  
 M A J E S T I E  
 I N  
 H I S S O L I T U D E S  
 A N D  
 S U F F E R I N G S :

Together with his Private Prayers used in the time of  
 his restraint, and delivered to Dr. Juxon,  
 Bishop of London, immediately  
 before his death.

---



---

R o m . 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

---

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

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M D C X L I X.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $8\frac{1}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—16 point.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to R in eights; S 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-263 (*Eikon 1-251*).

(See Water-marks, pp. 69, 70.)

*Description*:—On recto of first leaf is an engraving of the Royal Arms, with “C” and “R” at top corners, each letter being surmounted by a Crown. Verso blank. Folding plate (a fine impression) of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand (“*Guil: Marshall delineata: et Sculpsit.*”). Below the engraving is “The Explanation of the EMBLEME.” | in Latin and English. Title page (as fac-simile). On verso “*TRebaut, trespuissant & tresexcellent | Prince CHARLES, par la grace de | Dieu Roy de la grand' Bretaigne, France, | & D'Irlande, Defenseur de la foy, &c.* | (An ornamental line.) | *EXcellenthissimus, metuendissimus & potissimus Princeps, CAROLVS, | Dei gratia Rex Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, | & Hiberniae, Fidei Defensor, &c.* | (An ornamental line.) | THE most high, most mighty, and | most excellent Prince, CHARLES, | by the grace of God King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender* | of the Faith, &c.” (as in No. 44). Oval portrait of the King: “Charles by the grace of God, Kinge | of England, Scotland France and | Ireland, defendor of the faith, etc:” Verso blank. Contents 3 pages and part of fourth. At end of Contents is “*The Explanation of the Frontispiece.* | A Sacred heat inspries my Soul to trie” | ending “*Virtue opprest, doth grow more straight ana high.*” | (Ornamental head-piece.) | “*ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.*” Text 1-251, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.*” Verso blank. “*A perfect Copie of private Prayers used by His | MAJESTIE, in the time of | His Sufferings.*” Text of Prayers 253-8, ending (as in No. 42) “even Jesu Christ the Righteous. Amen. | FINIS.” “*A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the | Prince to the KING; Dated from | the Hague, Jan. 23. 1648.*” 1 page, ending “*For the King.*” “*A true Relation of the Kings Speech*” | &c., &c., 3 pp., ending “*Copia vera.*” “*An Epitaph upon King | CHARLES. | SO falls that stately Cedar; while it stood*” | ending “*It was thy Glory, but the Kingdomes Shame.* | J. H. | FINIS.” Verso blank. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. Number of Prayers, 4.

Bound in black morocco, extra gilt. Gilt edges. Royal Arms on each cover.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On verso of first leaf “bf | af | 64 | 66 | 71.” 2 book plates—one “HAMPSON.”

The DUKE OF LEEDS has an interesting copy of this edition or the next. It is bound in old morocco, with clasps. It has in it the names of two ancestors of the Duke:—“BRIDGETT D'ARCY” and “CONYERS D'ARCY.”

*Another copy*.—“ELIZABETH HOBARTE.”

Bound in old black morocco, gilt. Gilt edges. Crown, “C \* R” and skull on each cover. On recto of fourth leaf is portrait of Prince of Wales: “*Natus Maij 29. An. 1630. Etatis sue 19.*” Prayers, &c., missing.

*MS. Inscription*:—On Title page “ELIZABETH HOBARTE.”

*Another copy*.—“MARM: COOKE.”

Bound in old leather, gilt, with Royal Arms and “C R” on covers.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On Title page “MARM: COOKE —5<sup>s</sup> // 0<sup>d</sup> //”; also on remains of a torn fly leaf “*MARM C [torn] | May: 1649 | Pr: —5—; | under Finis on p. 263 “Unâ plus vice, hunc librum legi, | Christianissimum, et verè | Regium. MARM: COOKE.”* (See also p. 24.)

*Geo. Horne*

1730

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
M A J E S T I E  
I N  
H I S S O L I T U D E S  
A N D  
S U F F E R I N G S :

Together with His Private Prayers, used in  
the time of his Restraint, and delive-  
red to D. JUXON, Bishop of  
*London*, immediately  
before his death.

R o m . 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

M D C X L I X.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $8\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—16 point.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to R in eights; S 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-263 (*Eikon* 1-251).

*Description*:—On recto of first leaf Crown and Royal Arms, with “C” and “R” at top corners, each letter being surmounted by a Crown. Verso blank. Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand (“*Gul Marball Sculpsit*”). Beneath the engraving is “The Explanation of the EMBLEME.” | in Latin and English, ending “GLORY, the just reward of Grace | G. D.” | Title page (as fac-simile). On verso “LE tressaut, trespuissant & tresexcellent | Prince CHARLES, par la grace de | Dieu Roy de la grand’ Bretaigne, France, | & D’ Irlande, Defenseur de la foy, &c. | (An ornamental line.) | EXcellentissimus, metuendissimus & po- | tentissimus Princeps, CAROLUS, | Dei gratia Rex Angliae, Scotiæ, Franciæ, | & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor, &c. | (An ornamental line.) | THe most high, most mighty, and | most excellent Prince, CHARLES, | by the Grace of God King of England, | Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender | of the Faith, &c.” | Contents 3 pages and part of fourth. At end of Contents is “The Explanation of the Frontispiece. | A Sacred heat inspires my Soul to trie” | ending “Virtue opprest, doth grow more straight and high.” | (Ornamental head-piece.) | “ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.” | Text 1-251, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” | Verso blank. “A perfect Copie of private Prayers used by His | MAJESTIE, in the time of | His Sufferings.” | Text of Prayers 253-8, ending, “even Jesu Christ the Righteous. Amen. | FINIS.” | “A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the | Prince to the KING; Dated from | the Hague, Jan. 23. 1648.” | 1 page, ending “For the King.” “A true Relation of the Kings Speech” | &c., &c., 3 pp., ending “Copia vera.” “An Epitaph upon King | CHARLES.” | 1 page, ending “It was thy Glory, but the Kingdome Shame. | J. H. | ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θείων, Πατρικῶν τε | Νόμων, ὅχ' ἀριστος | Σκηνέχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἀλειτέων | χερσὶν ἐπιπτεν. | FINIS.” Verso blank. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. The Contents include Prayers, Speech, &c., &c. Number of Prayers, 4. (See Water-marks, pp. 69, 70.)

Bound in old calf. Red edges. Page 256 is numbered 252.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On first leaf “GEO” HAND;” On verso “MRS I. | MRS IVESON.” On Title page “GEO: HAND ~ 1730.” Book label of “GEORGE WEBSTER NAPIER.”

The Rev. W. C. BOULTER, Norton Vicarage, Evesham, seems to have a copy of this edition.

Mr. ALFRED H. HUTH kindly lent me from his library a copy of this edition, bound in old black morocco, with Crown and “C. R.” on each cover.

*Another copy*.—“C. C. GOODCHILD.”

Evidently bound for Charles II by Samuel Mearn, who was the royal bookbinder from the Restoration until 1684. It is in old red morocco, with Royal Arms of the Stuarts, and richly tooled. Lettered on the back “KINGS BOOK.” (See Binding Illustration No. 2, following description of *Eikon* No. 32.)

*MS. Inscription*:—“C. C. GOODCHILD 1756.”

In a glass case in the Queen’s Library, at Windsor Castle, is a copy identical with this; the same stamp being used, but the binding is black instead of red. In these, and in Queen Charlotte’s copy, (No. 42), the Titles, &c., have been carefully ruled in red ink, and the portraits are selected impressions.

*Another copy*.—“MARY METHWOLD.”

Bound in fine old morocco, with clasps.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—“MARY METHWOLD | ex dono: K: M:” and “C. S. EARLE | Cromer.” Book label of “GEORGE W. SANDFORD.”

*Measurement:*—Binding 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ; text 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

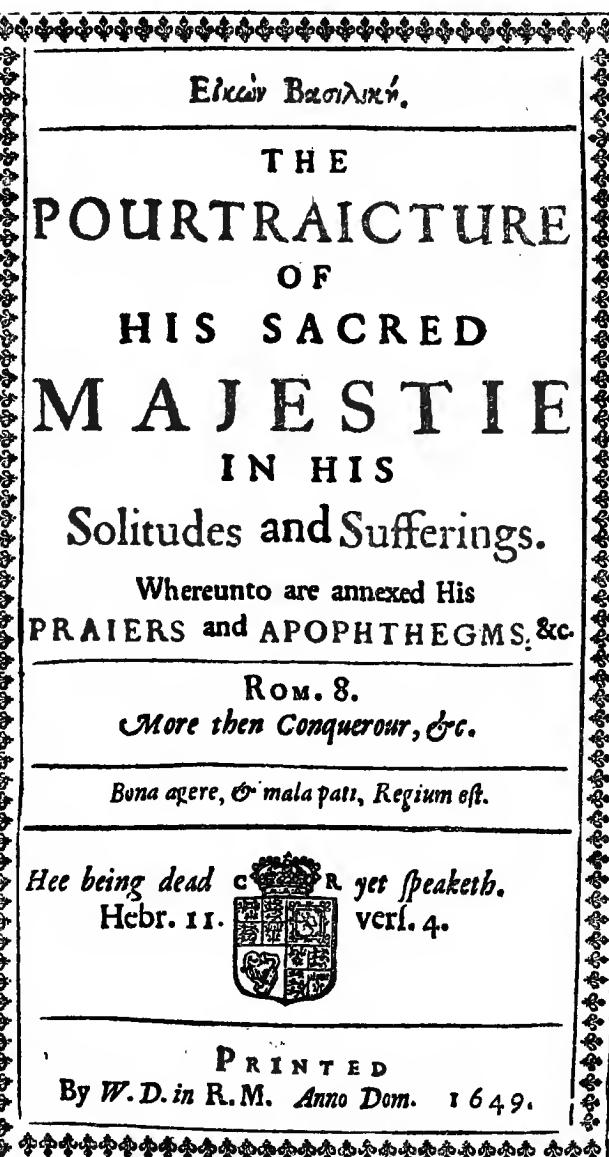
*Size of type:*—Pica, and 12 point.

*Signatures:*—A to Z in eights; A a 4 leaves; A 1 leaf; Cc 6 leaves (Cc 3 and Cc 4 are out of place); A 5 leaves (the 2 leaves of *Eikon* Contents are in wrong order); B to Q 6 in eights (the whole

text of the *Eikon*); S to Bb in eights; R or T 8 leaves (some leaves signed R, and others T, and some altered in MS. from T to R); V, X, Y, Z, in eights; Aa and Bb in eights; (bb) 2 leaves.

*Paging:*—1-96; 1-355. (*Eikon*) 1-236. 245-374; 9-123; but pp. 371-4 are misplaced in this copy.

*Description:*—Single page plate of the King, wearing a hat, and seated at a large Globe. (“*Guil: Marball sculp:*” on the stand of the Globe.) General Title: “*Reliquiae Sacrae CAROLINÆ | THE | VVORKES | OF THAT | GREAT MONARCH | AND | Glorious Martyr | KING CHARLES the 1st. | both Civil and Sacred. | WITH | A short view of the LIFE and | REIGN of that most blessed Prince | from his Birth to his Buriall. | Tacit. Hist. Lib. I. *Alii diutius Imperium tenuerunt, nemo tam fortiter reliquit.* | HAGUE, | Printed by SAM: BROWNE.”| Verso blank. Text of Life of King Charles, 1-96. “*SEVERAL | SPEECHES | DELIVERED | By His MAJESTY.*” Text 1-55. Verso of 55 blank. “*Messages for Peace,*” “*Letters to Severall Persons,*” “*Letters to the Queen,*” “*New-**



castle Papers,” etc., paged 59-355. Verso of 355 blank. Title page “*RELIQUIÆ SACRAE | CAROLINÆ: | THE | Pourtraicture of His Sacred | MAJESTIE | IN HIS | SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS: | Together with | Severall additionalls relating to the | Death of that most Religious*

and | *Blessed PRINCE.* | The second part containing Matters sacred. | HAGUE, | Printed by *Samuel Brown.* | A." Verso blank. "A Table of the Contents." | 2 leaves, unpaged. Then "His MAJEIES Letter to the PRINCE," | 2 leaves, paged 371-4. (These 2 leaves have signature Cc, and should follow Bb 8, p. 370.) The remainder of Contents, 2 leaves. A poem "Upon His Sacred MAJESTIES incomparable | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | COuldſt thou before thy death" | etc., 1 leaf. (This poem is repeated after the blank verso of Title page of *Eikon*, but is in different type, with the introductory words "*Dread Sir!*" and has an ornamental head-piece, showing a rose surmounted by a crown.) Then follows "Εἰκὼν Βασιλική." Title page (as fac-simile.) Verso blank. Poem. Contents (of *Eikon*) 4 pages, concluding thus: "Whereunto are annexed | 1. Four Praiers used by His Majestie. | 2. His Majesties Reasons against the pretended | Court of Justice. | 3. A Letter from the Prince. | 4. His Majestie's Discours with his Children. | 5. The Ladie Elisabeth's Relations. | 6. An Epitaph upon the King. | 7. His Majestie's Apophthegms, Theological, Moral, and Political." (These pages are transposed, pp. 3 and 4 (blank) preceding pp. 1 and 2.) Text of *Eikon* 1-236, ending "Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | Hebr. 11.4. | Ἀποθανῶν ἐτὶ λαλεῖται. | FINIS." The lines of the *Eikon* are numbered on each page, thus: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30. Following the *Eikon* are "THE | PAPERS | Which passed . . . . at Newport," etc., paged 245-370. (Then there should come in here pp. 371-4; pp. 373-4 contain "A Prayer in time of Captivity," and the catch-word "Additionall.") "Additionall Prayers used by His | MAJESTY," etc., paged 9-15. On verso of 15 is a 6-line verse "Upon the picture of His Majestie, sitting in his Chair | before the High Court of Injustice." (not mentioned in General Contents). Then follow "THE TRYALL | OF | CHARLES the I.;" | "Monumentum Regale: | OR, | SEVERAL ELEGIES | ON | That most Religious and Blessed Prince, | King CHARLES the I." | etc., etc., paged 19-123. Verso of 119 and 123 blank. Chapter 28 (of *Eikon*) is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 7. As may be noticed, the *Eikon* is not followed by the "Four Praiers," etc. All these early editions of the *Reliquiae* are extremely mixed. This book does not contain anything corresponding with the enumeration commencing "Whereunto are annexed" (see above). In the General Contents the first Prayer is numbered 2, and, consequently, the last is numbered 8. In the last part of the book, p. 98 has the catch-word "Some;" p. 99 begins "So fals," etc. Page 99 has the catch-word "The;" p. 100 begins with "A Speech." (After all, I think this *Eikon* and this *Reliquiae* are only acquaintances, not blood relations. The *Eikon* evidently printed by William DuGard. There is much advantage to be derived from possessing a copy of *Reliquiae Sacrae Carolinæ*, as the owner can so readily read for comparison the *Eikon* and the acknowledged writings of the King.)

Bound in old leather. (See Binding Illustration No. 3, following description of *Eikon* No. 41.)

*MS. Inscriptions:*—On the verso of front cover, "A 8." | "4 . 4." On the Title page of the *Reliquiae*, "EDWARD PRICE."

The Rev. E. J. WALFORD has a copy of this edition. In it is written "JOHN NEWMAN, September 15th, 1739."

6th in Wagstaffe's second list.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $5\frac{3}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—12 point.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to S in eights; T 4 leaves; \*\* 2 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-272 (*Eikon*  
1-269); 173-8.

*Eikon Basilicon.*

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
His SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITVDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

Together with His MAIESTIES Praiers  
delivered to Doctor Juxon immediarely  
before His Death.

Rom. 8.

*More then Conquerour, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mali pati, Regium est.*



M. DC. XLIX.

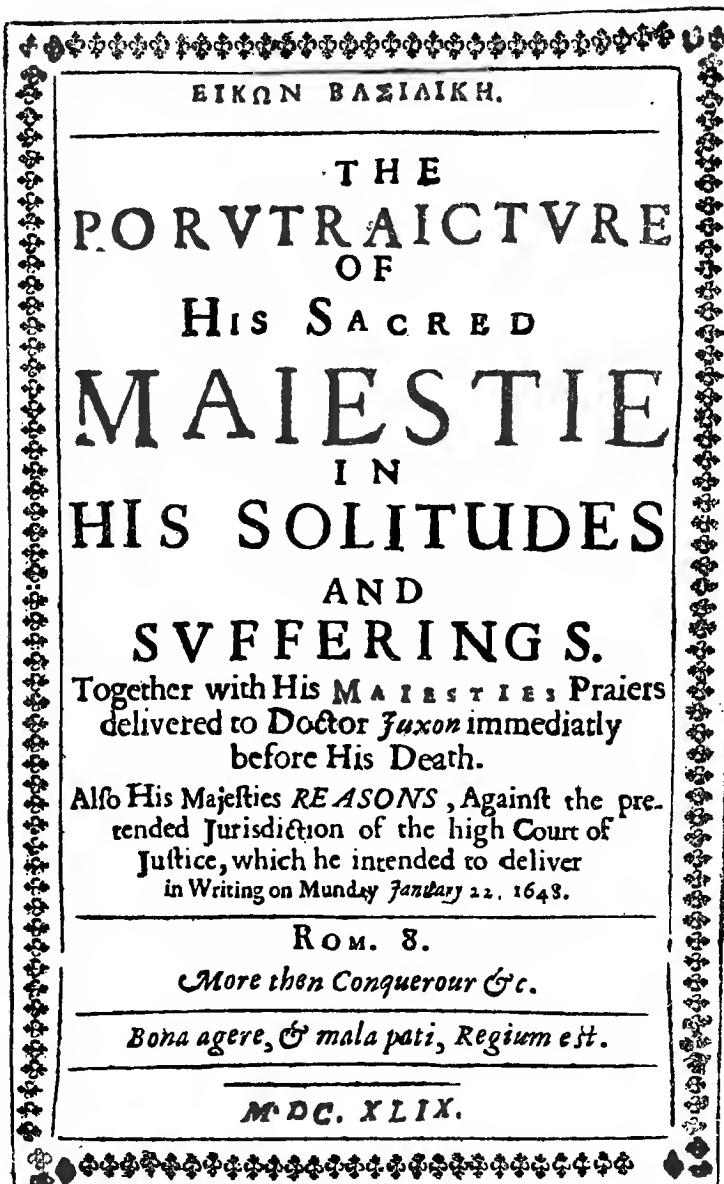
A copy of this edition, bound in old black morocco, is used by the Order of the White Rose in enrolling their Companions. It has the book-plate of "The Rev. FREDERICK LEE, M.A., Magdalene College, Oxford, 1831," and is inscribed "Presented to THE ORDER OF THE WHITE ROSE, by Frederick George Lee, Lambeth. March 1, 1892."

*Another copy*.—“RICHARD MATHIAS.” “THO<sup>S</sup>. DAVIES | 1789.”

Bound in fine old black morocco, with gilt rose in centre.

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Contents 3 leaves. Verso of third blank. Text pp. 1-269, ending “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.” Verso of 269 blank. Then follows the “PRAIERS, | Used by His | MAJESTIE | In the time of His | Sufferings. | Delivered to Doctor Juxon Bishop of | LONDON, immedietly before | His Death. | Also a Letter from the PRINCE.” | Text of Prayers, 5 pages, ending “even Jesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.” | (The 3 leaves following p. 272 are paged 173, 174, 175, 174, 175, 178.) Following the Prayers is “Munday 29<sup>th</sup> January, 1648. | A true Relation of the KING’S Speech,” etc., 3 pages. “A Copy of a Letter which was | sent from the Prince to the King; Dated | from the Hague Jan. 23. 1648.” | 1 page, ending “For the King.” | Verso blank. “His Majesties Reasons against the pretended Jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice.” 2 leaves. Verso of second leaf is “An Epitaph upon King | CHARLES. | SO fals that stately Cedar;” etc., signed “J.H.” 3 blank leaves. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents (which only includes the *Eikon*) and in text. Number of Prayers, 3. The last is the “Imminent Danger” Prayer, but it is headed, in error, “A Prayer in time of Captivity.”

This is Mr. FALCONER MADAN’s copy, No. “(7).”  
Same as “LONDON LIBRARY” copy.  
8th in Wagstaffe’s second list.



## 47.

[47, 48, and 49 are each described, partly because it is not at present clear whether this Eikon was issued by itself or not. They are printed on the same kind of paper, and the Eikon is the edition that belongs to this Reliquiae. The Prayers, with their own Title page, were no doubt sold separately as a sheet, and in both 47 and 48 they are superfluous, as also are the leaves T 1 and T 2 ("His Majesties Reasons"). The number of Prayers in the collection with separate Title page is 4, and in the body of the Reliquiae 6. In the text of 47 and 48, Chapter 19 is numbered in error 16, but in 49 this has been corrected.]

*Measurement:*—6 $\frac{3}{4}$  by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; text 5 $\frac{5}{8}$  by 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ .

*Size of type:*—12 point.

*Signatures:*—A 2 leaves, S 6 leaves inserted between A 1 and A 2; B to Q in eights; R 4 leaves; T 2 leaves; S to Ee in eights.

*Paging:*—1–247 (the *Eikon*); 149–324.

*Description:*—Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Title page "A | Perfect Copie of | PRAYERS, | Used by His | MAJESTIE | In the time of His | Sufferings | Delivered to Doctor Iuxon, Bishop | of LONDON, Immediately | before his Death. | Also a Copy of a Letter from the | PRINCE. | (A small ornament.) | Printed Anno Domini 1649." | (A border-line is round the page.) Verso blank. Prayers, etc., 5 leaves, unpaged. Contents 1 leaf. Text (of *Eikon*) pp. 1–247, ending "Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS." Verso of 247 blank. "HIS MAJESTIES | REASONS | 2 leaves, unpaged. "For Mr. Alexander Henderson. | His Majesties first Paper." (Newcastle Papers, etc.), pp. 149–286. "Diverse of His MAJESTIES Prayers: . . . . delivered to the Bishop of London . . . . taken away by | the Officers of the Army." | pp. 287–91. "Several things relating to His MAJESTIES | Death." | (comprising: Quæries; Reasons; Names of His Majesty's Judges; Letter from the Prince to the King; His Majesty's Speech on the Scaffold; Dr. Lotius' Speech, in Latin and English.), pp. 292–314. "Several Verses made by divers Persons upon His Majes- | ties Death." | and "A Deep Groan at the Funerall of that incomparable and | glorious Monarch Charls the first." | pp. 314–24, ending "Parodia ex Buchanan Geneth: Jacobi sexti. | D.H.K. | FINIS." Page 212 (*Eikon*) is blank. The Contents only include the *Eikon*. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents but not in text. Number of Prayers, 4.

This copy is unbound.

*MS. Inscription:*—In the centre of last page, "WALTER WILLIAMSON."

## 48.—Another copy.—"5."

This copy is the same as the preceding, excepting that the recto of first leaf is blank, and on verso "The Explanation of the Embleme" (in Latin and English), followed by the double page engraving of the King kneeling, coloured by hand (not improbably by one of the King's children), and that p. 212 is occupied by a portrait of Charles II., with a crown of thorns to his right: "Natus May 29 An<sup>o</sup> 1630 Aetatis sue 19 | D." | Following the blank verso of p. 247 (last page of *Eikon*) are the Prayers, etc., 8 leaves, unpaged. Then "His Majesties Reasons," 2 leaves, unpaged (T 1 and T 2). This copy ends here.

This copy is bound in black morocco, gilt. Gilt edges. The Royal Arms are stamped in gold on each cover.

*MS. Inscription:*—On verso of front cover "5."

(?) 7th of Wagstaffe's second list.

**49.**—*Another copy.*—“W<sup>M</sup> BATEMAN, F.A.S.”

This is the same as the two preceding, but is in, and belonging to, the “RELIQVIAE SACRAE | CAROLINÆ. | OR THE | VVORKS | OF THAT | GREAT MONARCH | AND | GLORIOVS MARTYR | King CHARL<sup>S</sup> the I. | Collected together, and digested in order, | according to their severall Subjects, | CIVIL and SACRED. | The Contents appear in the next ensuing Pages. | 2 King 23.25. And like unto him there was no | King before him, that turned to the Lora with | all his heart, &c. | Heb. 11.4. Being dead, he yet speaketh. | (A small fancy block.) | HAGUE, | Printed by Samuell Browne. 1651.” | It contains 4 portraits (see *MS. Inscriptions*): 1. Facing the *Reliquia* Title page; 2. In front of *Eikon* Title page; 3. On p. 212 of *Eikon*; 4. In front of “*His Majesties first Paper.*” It also contains MS. notes and printed extracts, the former being all in Mr. Bateman’s handwriting.

Bound in old calf, gilt, re-backed. Gilt edges. Crown, “C R,” skull, and Scotch thistle, in gold, on covers.

It contains the well-known book-plate of “W<sup>M</sup> BATEMAN, F.A.S., | of Middleton-by-Volgrave | in the County of DERBY.” | dated in his handwriting “1828.”

*MS. Inscriptions:*—On recto of first blank leaf, “Portraits in this volume— | 1. Charles 1<sup>st</sup> in a laced band— | 2. Charles 1<sup>st</sup> kneeling with a Crown | of Thorns in his hand— | 3. Charles 2<sup>d</sup> when Prince æt. 19— | 4. Charles 1<sup>st</sup> pointing to ‘Scotica Eccle- | -sia,’ inscribed on a terrestrial globe—” | *Ibid.* “See at page 46, the King’s awful | protestation—” | On recto of first portrait, “This portrait of K. Charles | was first used as a frontispiece | to Dr. Mich<sup>l</sup> Hudson’s ‘Divine | Right of Government Natural | and Politique’—1647, 4to.” | On recto of double page plate of the King kneeling, “In a Sermon by Bishop Juxon, | entitled, ‘The Subject’s Sorrow, or | Lamentations upon the Death of | Britaine’s Josiah King Charles,’ | 4to. 1649, it is expressly stated | that the King himself desired | ‘that unto his Golden Manual | might be prefixed his Representa- | -tion kneeling, contemning a | temporal Crown, holding our blessed | Saviour’s Crown of Thorns, and | aspiring unto an Eternal Crown | of Happiness—’ | Ellis’ ‘Original Letters—’ | (2<sup>d</sup> Series) vol. 3—p. 254—” | On a slip inserted between the fourth portrait and “*His Majesties first Paper,*” “It seems very doubtful whether | these papers were really written | by the persons whose names they | bear—or indeed whether any papers | passed between the King and Alex<sup>r</sup>. | Henderson.—There is a clever | examination of the question in | Godwin’s ‘History of the Commonwealth,’ | vol. 2, pp. 179-185—”

*Printed Extracts:* | A slip pasted on verso of first fly-leaf, “CHARLES I. The Workes of that Great Monarch and | Glorious Martyr King Charles the First, Hague; Por- | traicture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and | Sufferings, fine portrait, and the folding plate of the | King at prayers, both by Marshall, and also portrait | of Charles when Prince of Wales; matchless copy, in the | original binding, with clasp, 1L 1s. Hague. No date. | E.” | Underneath this Mr. Bateman has written “My copy has a fourth engraving which | the above does not contain, viz: The | King pointing to ‘Scotica Ecclesia,’ on | a terrestrial globe. | W. B.” | Following the last page (324) is pasted a newspaper cutting: “Mr. URBAN, 1793. Witney, June 29. | HAVING occasion, a few days ago, | to be at the village of Church- | Handborough in this neighbourhood, | curiosity, and a little fondness for An- | tiquity, led me into the antient church | there, in which I read, not without | surprize, an inscription to the manes of | Charles the First, of unfortunate me- | mory; and, recollecting that my old ac- | quaintance Mr. Urban was somewhat | attached to such curiosities, I deter- | mined to send a copy for his inspection, | wishing, if he thinks it unknown to his | readers, to have it inserted in his Mis- | cellany. It is painted on the wall of | the East side of the chancel, and sur- | rounded by a border, designed to repre- | sent a marble slab. I could not learn | when or by whom it was placed there; | but must not forget a tradition, current | among the inhabitants of the village, | that the unfortunate monarch was in- | terred in this building. | ‘M. S. | sanctissimi regis et martyris Caroli. | Siste, viator; | lege, obmutesce, mirare, | memento Caroli illius, | nominis pariter, et pietatis insignissimæ, primi, | Magnæ Britanniae regis; | qui rebellium perfidiæ primò deceptus, | dein perfidorum rabie percursus, | inconcussus tamen legum et fidei | defensor, | schismaticorum tyrannidi succubuit | anno | salutis humanae 1648 | servitutis nostræ | fœlicitatis suæ | primo | corona terrestri spoliatus, cœlesti donatus. | Sileant autem periturae tabellæ; | perlege reliquias verè sacras | Carolinas; | in quæis | sui mnemosynem ære perenniorem | vivacius exprimit: | illa, illa | EIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.’”

**50.**—*Another copy.*—This shows a variation in the Title page, namely, the corners of the Title page are not printed in red. This has a fine half-face frontispiece, with “Guil: Marshall delin:” “Ro: Vaughan sculp:”

It is bound in very old and worn black velvet, with Crown and “C. R.,” in gold, on front cover. Marbled end papers.

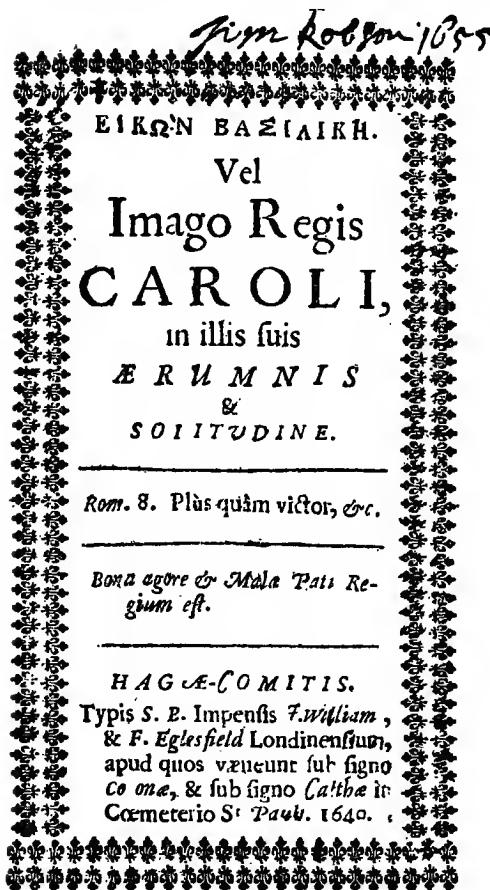
*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{8}$  by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A to L in twelves; ¶ 3 leaves; A4 to 12, 9 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-258 (*Eikon*, 1-252); 1-22.

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Title page (as fac-simile). On verso a crown, and a shield encircled with the motto: “DEUS EST NOBIS SOL ET SCUTUM.” Introduction 4 pp., signed “Jo. EARLES” (see next page). “Syllabus Capitum” 1 leaf. Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1-252. Page 1 is headed with an



ornamental block, which is upside down. [The initial capital letter “P” is on a little block, with portrait of the King, with a rose on his right hand, and a thistle on his left. Chapters 2, 7, 8, 12, 20, 22, 23, 25 and 27 also have their initial capitals in the middle of subject engravings. From pp. 1-250 the lines are numbered in the margin, thus: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30.] Page 252 ends “Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | Ἀωθανῶν [see Nos. 53 and 57] εἰτι λαλεῖται. Heb. 11.4. | FINIS. | Expli-” | Page 253 begins with the heading “Explicantur Nonnullorum Capitum pauca quædam | obscuriora.” | The explanations end on p. 258 with | “FINIS.” | followed by an ornamental tail-piece. Then a new Title page: “PERFECTA | NARRATIO | Totius Processus | Supremi Tribunalis Justitiae | IN | EXAMINE RRGIS | In Aula Westmonasteriensis, die Saturni | xx & die Lunæ xxii hujus præsentis Januarii. | Cum singulis Orationibus Regis, Domini | Præsidis, & Sollicitatoris Generalis. | Publicatum Authoritate ad prævortendum falsas | & incongruas Relationes. | (A block of a Scotch thistle.) | LONDINI, | Ex Officina Guilielmi Bentley, | Impensis Guilielmi Shears, prope ostium Boreale Templi Divi Pauli. | Anno Dom. 1649.” | Verso blank. pp. 1-9, with “FINIS.” | and catch-word

“Nomina” at foot of p. 9. Page 10: “Nomina corum qui Supremo illi Justitiae | Tribunali interfuerant, sententiamq; tu- | lerunt capitalem in CAROLUM I. | Magnæ Britanniæ Monarcham.” | At foot, catch-word “MAJE” | Page 11 begins “MAJESTATIS | suæ | RATIONES.” | ending on p. 14 “FINIS.” | Catch-word “RE-” | Then a separate Title page: “REGIS CAROLI | ORATIO | HABITA IN SUGGESTU | Ad portam Albæ Aulæ. | Immediate ante Executionem, | Die Martis xxx Jan. <sup>1648</sup> <sub>1649</sub>. | Cum Relatione quo pacto ad suppli- | cium ductus fuerit. | Publicatam speciali Autoritate. | (An engraving of

a rose.) | LONDINI. | 1649." | Verso blank. Page 22 ends "Sic transit Gloria Mundi | FINIS." | 2 blank leaves. The Table of Contents only includes the *Eikon*. The tail-piece at end of Contents (p. 258) is the same as that on the last page of needlework edition (No. 87).

Old leather binding.

MS. Inscriptions:—"E T MIDGLAY | Oct: 6th 1819 | R. S. Yks." | "TIM ROBSON 1655."

Mrs. C. TROLLOPE SWAN, Santhorpe, Spilsby, seems to have a copy of this edition, in old binding.

25th in Wagstaffe's first list.

#### DR. EARLES' DEDICATION IN THE FOREGOING EDITION.

(For translation, see Mr. Scott's Preface, pp. 138-40.)

"Serenissimo & Potentissimo Monarchæ, CAROLO SECUNDO, Dei Gratiâ Magnæ Britannie Francie & Hibernie REGI, Fidei Defensori, &c.—Serenissime REX, Prodeat jam sub tuis Auspiciis Illa Patris Tui Gloriosissimi Imago, Illa quæ magis ad Dei similitudinem quam quæ Rex aut Homo accedit. Prodeat verò eo colore peregrino, quo facta omnibus conspectior fiat publica. Ita enim Tu voluisti, ut sic Lingua omnium communii Orbi tradarerem, in qua utinam feliciorem Tibi operam navare licuisset, ut illam Nativam Elegantiam, illam Vim verborum & Lumina, illam admirabilem sermonis structuram exprimerem. Quod cùm fieri (fortasse nec à peritissimis) à me certè non possit, præstat interim ut cum aliqua venustatis injuria magnam partem Europæ alloquatur, quam intra paucos sua Gentis clausa apud ceteros omnes conticescat. Sunt enim hæc velut quedam Dei Magnalia quæ spargi expedit humano generi, & in omnium linguis exaudiri: Id pro mea facultate curavi, ut si non sensa Tanti Authoris ornatè, ac perspicue & fide traderem, inā nec ab ipsa dictione & phrasi (quantum Latini idiomatis ratio permittit) vel minimum recederem. Sacri enim Codicis Religiosum esse decet Interpretem. Et certè proximè ab illo sacro & adorando Codice (qui in has comparationes non cadit) spero non me audacem futurum, si dixero nullum inter ceteros mortaliū, vel Autore vel Argumento illustriorem, vel in quo viva magis Pietas & eximè Christiana spiratur.

"Habet vero sanctitas Regia nescio quid ex fortune sue Majestate sublimius quiddam & augustius, & quæ imperium magis obtinet in mentes hominum, & reverendil majore accipitur: quare & his maximè instrumentis usus est Deus qui illam partem sacra paginae ad solennem Dei cultum pertinentem, Psalmos scilicet, & Hymnos: ceteraque ejusmodi perpetuū Ecclesiæ asibus inseruitura, transmitterent hominibus & Autoritatem quandam conciliarent? Quid quod libertiū etiam arripiunt homines sic objectam & traditam pietatem. Quod & Libro huic evenit, & erit magis eventurum, quid jam multò diffusior plures sui capaces invenerit.

"Magnum erat profectò sic meditari, sic scribere; multò majus sic vivere, sic mori: ut sit hæc penè nimia dictu pietas exemplo illius superata. Scit hec illa Orbis Pars miserrima jam & contaminatissima. Utinam hanc maturiū intellexissent virtutem, quam jam serè laudant & admirantur amissam, nec illa opus fuisset dirè fornace quæ tam eximia Regis pietas exploraretur, ex qua nos tantum miseri facti sumus, ille omnium fælicissimus: Cujus illa pars vita novissima & ærumnosissima & supremus dies (in quo Hominibus & Angelis spectaculum factus stetit animo excelsò & interrito, summum Fidei, Constantiæ, Patientiæ exemplar, superior Malis suis & totè simul congestè inferni malitiæ) omnes omnium Triumphos & quicquid est humana Gloria superavit. Nihil egistis & quot estis hominum! (sed nolo Libro sanctissimo quicquam tetrius prefari, nec quos ille inter preces nominat, maledicere) nihil (inquam) egistis hoc parricidio, nisi quid famam illius & immortalitatem cum æterno vestro probro & scelere conjunxit. Nemo unquam ab orbe condito tot veris omnium lacrymis, tot sinceris laudibus celebratus est. Nulli unquam Principum in secundis agenti tam factos plausus vel Metus dedit, vel Adulatio vendidit, quam hæc verissimos expressere Fuga, Carcer, Theatrum & illa omnium funestissima Securis, quid obstupefecit Hostes moriens, & casus triumphavit.

"Tu interim (Rex Augustissime) vera & viva Patris Effigies (cujus inter summas erat fælicitates humanæ & in adversis solarium Te genuisse; in quo superstite mori non potest) inflammeris maximè hoc mortis illius exemplo, non tam in vindictæ cupidinem (in quam alii Te extimulent, non Ego) quam in Heroica Virtutis & Constantiæ Zelum: Hanc verò primùm aedas, quam nulla vis tibi invito eriperet Hæreditariam Pietatem; & quo es in tuos omnes affectu maxime Philostorgo, hunc librum eodem tecum Genitore satum amplectere; Dic sapientiae, soror mea es, & prudentiam affinem voca; hanc tu consule, hanc frequens meditare, hanc imbibe penitus & in Animam tuam transfunde. Vides in Te omnium conjectos oculos, in Te omnium Bonorum spes sitas, ex Te omnium vitas pendere, quas jamdiu multi tædio projecissent, nisi ut essent quas tibi impenderent. Magnum onus incumbit, magna urget procella, magna expectatio, Major omnium, quamque unquam superiùs, Virtutum necessitas: An sit Regnum amplius in Britannie futurum, an Religio, an Homines, an Deus, ex tuis Virtute, Tuis Fortunâ dependet, Immò, sole potius ex Dei Fortuna: cujus opem quæ magis hæc necessariam agnoscis, præsentaneam requiris, ed magis magisq; (quod jam facis) omni pietatis officio promerearis; & illa quæ in Te largè sparsit Bonitatis, Prudentiæ, Temperantiæ, Justitiæ, & omnis Regia Virtutis semina foveas, augeas, & in fructum matures, ut tibi Deus placatus & propitius quod detraxit Patri Tuo fælicitatis humanæ, Tibi adjiciat, & omnes illius ærumnas conduplicatis in te beneficiis, compenset, & appelleris Ille Restaurator, quem Te unicè optant omnes & sperant futurum, & ardenter precibus expedit.—Majestatis Tuæ humillimus devotissimusque subditus & sacellanus Jo. EARLES."

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{3}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A 6 leaves; B to M in twelves; N 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-272.

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

V E L

# Imago Regis C A R O L I.

In illis suis  
Æ R U M N I S  
ET  
SOLITUDINE.

Rom. 8.

Plus quam vicit &c.

Bona agere & mala pati Regium est.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Earle's dedication, 4 leaves. Contents, 2 leaves. Text 1-263, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella | negarunt. | FINIS.*” | Verso blank. “*EXPLICANTVR | NONNVLLORVM | CAPITVM | pauca quædam | obicuriora.*” | 4 leaves, pp. 265-72, with “*ERRATA.*” at foot of last page. The two first errata have been corrected; the third (and last) has not been corrected. 1 blank leaf. In Chapters 15-17, and also in part of sheet I, a type differing from that in the rest of the text has been used. The capitals used throughout in the running title are of very mixed sizes.

Flexible vellum binding.

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HAGÆ-COMITIS  
Ex Officina Samuelis Broun, Bibliopolæ  
Anglici. M D C X L I X.

This is Mr. FALCONER MADAN's copy, “(20).”

(?) 22nd in Wagstaffe's first list.

In the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, is a copy of one of the Latin editions, with the following interesting old inscription:—

“GEORGE DURY est verus possessor hujus libri 1649. Libellum: hunc Librorum legi, Bibliothecam in Octavo & omni charactere superiore. Addere tamen sic Ausus sum. Qui Rhetoricâ plenus, Theologiâ plenior, Pietate plenissimus.”

It has a Crown and “C. R.” on covers.

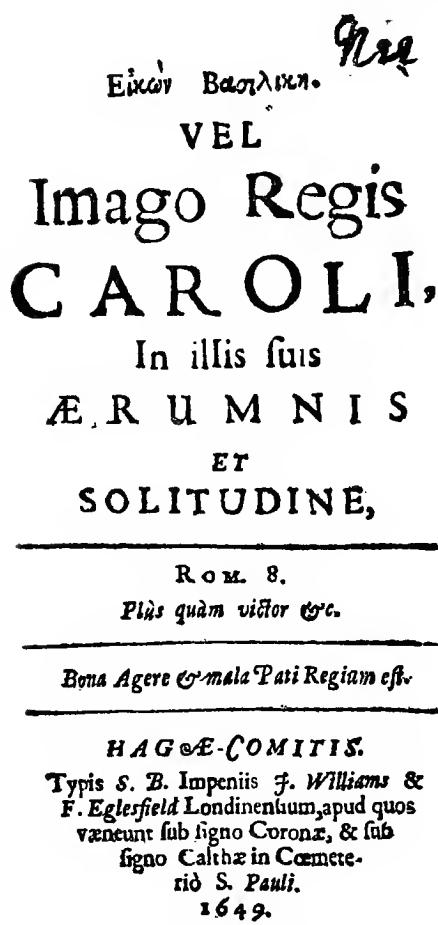
*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A 8 leaves (including plate); B to M in twelves; N 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-272 (*Eikon* 1-263).

*Description*:—Folding plate of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank.



Introduction: “*Serenissimo & Potentissimo | Monarchæ. | CAROLO | SECUNDO, | Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ | Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regi, | Fidei Defensori, &c.*” | 4 leaves, ending “*Majestatis Tuæ humillimus de- | votissimusque subditus & | facellanus | Jo: EARLES.*” | “*SYLLABUS CAPITULUM.*” | 2 leaves. Text, pp. 1-263, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt. | Αῶθανῶν\* ἐπιλαλεῖται. Heb. 11. 4. | FINIS.*” Between pp. 230-1 is double page plate with 4 oval portraits—Charles I, the Queen, Charles II and James II. Verso of 263 blank. “*EXPLICANTUR | NONNULLORVM | CAPITVM | pauca quædam | obscuriora.*” | 4 leaves (pp. 265-72), ending with “*FINIS.*” From pp. 1 to 263 the lines of each page are numbered in the margin, thus: 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text.

Bound in old black leather, gilt. Crown, “C. R.” hour glass, and skull on covers.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On Title page, “NEE;” on first page of Introduction, “NEEP | 1717.”

Same as B. M. copy, E. 1384.

24th in Wagstaffe's first list.

*Another copy*.—“*MOSES DA COSTA.*” (See Binding Illustration No. 4, which faces this description.)

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On recto of first blank leaf, “*HENRICUS P. BOWDEN, B.A., | Trin. Coll. Cantabr. olim | alumnus. | A.D. VII Kal. Jul. 1873.*” On Title page, “*MOSES DA COSTA.*”

Mr. HOLMES, the Queen's Librarian, and Mr. DAVENPORT, the successor to Mr. Fletcher in the charge of the British Museum bindings, say that this was Dr. Earle's dedication copy for Charles the Second.

Mr. BASIL ANDERTON, B.A., Chief Librarian, Public Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, reports that they have a copy of this edition.

*Another copy*, with the following corrections on the Title page:—“*SOLITUDINE*” is followed by a full stop instead of a comma; and “*Impencis*” is printed instead of “*Impenii*.”

This copy was kindly lent to me by the Rev. E. MARSHALL, F.S.A., Sandford St. Martin. It is bound in old black leather, with Crown, “C. R.” skull, and hour-glass on each cover.

\* The misprint (the third letter) of *Omega* for *Omicron* is curious. See also No. 57 for another spelling of the same word.







Binding Illustration No. 4.

(See Description of *Eikon* No. 53.)



*Measurement*:—Binding  $4\frac{7}{8}$  by 3; text  $3\frac{7}{8}$  by 2.

*Size of type*:—Pica.

*Signatures*:— $\bar{a}$  6 leaves; followed by 3 sheets in sixes (the *signatures* to these sheets are very erratic);  $\bar{u}$  2 leaves; A to K k in sixes; L l 2 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-398.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

# LE PORTRAIT DU ROY DE LA GRAND' BRETAGNE.

Durant sa solitude & ses souffrances.

Rom. 8.

Plus que vainqueur, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium cſt.



A R O V E N,  
Chez JEAN BERTHELIN, dans  
la Cour du Palais.

M. D C XXXIX.  
AVEC PRIVILEGE.

Has been lately re-bound. Was formerly bound in vellum,

Now in the Guildhall Library.

Presented to the Guildhall Library by Rev. J. H. CARDWELL, per G. F. BARWICK, Esq., British Museum.  
November, 1893.

*MS. Inscription*:—On p. 243, “ELIZABH.”

*Another copy*, in the original vellum binding.

The Rev. CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, Rector of Tyneham, seems to have some *Eikons* which belonged to his grandfather, the Master of Trinity, namely, a copy of this edition, and the Latin edition, No. 53.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

LE PORTRAIT  
DU ROY  
DE LA GRAND' BRETAGNE.

*Fait de sa propre main durant sa solitude  
et ses souffrances.*

Rom. 8.

*Plus que vainqueur, &c.*

---

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

*Troisième Edition corrigée, & augmentée de plusieurs pièces  
de la façon de sa Majesté.*



A R O V E N,  
Chez JEAN BERTHELIN, dans la Court du Palais.

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M. DC. X L I X.  
AVEC PRIVILEGE.

## 55.

*Measurement* :—Binding 11 $\frac{3}{8}$  by 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ ; text 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  by 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ .

*Size of type* :—16-point.

*Signatures* :—č, ī, ð, ū, āă, in fours; ēē (2 leaves); A to Z (no W) in fours; Aa to Vu in fours; X x 4 leaves. (Counting the frontispiece as the second leaf of the sheet, and reckoning the first sheet to be ā, the collation would begin ā to āă in fours of vowels.)

*Paging* :—1-352 (*Eikon* 1-318).

(See Water-marks, p. 69.)

*Description* :—4 blank leaves. Half-Title: “LE | PORTRAIT | DV ROY | DE LA GRAND' | BRETAGNE.” | On verso “Explication de l’Emblème.” | Plate of the King kneeling (*Rawlins fecit*), quite different from other versions of the subject. Verso blank. Title (as fac-simile). Verso blank. Dedication to Charles II, 6 leaves and recto of seventh, ending “obeyssant seruiteur, | PORRÉE.” Verso begins “PREFACE | DE LA PREMIERE EDITION. | AV LECTEVR CHRESTIEN.” | (see next page) and continues over 9 following leaves and recto of tenth. Verso begins “ADVIS SVR LA SECONDE | Edition de ce Liure.” | (see next page) and covers the 3 following leaves. Contents 2 leaves. Errata on recto of next, with License to print (see below), from Parliament of Rouen, on verso. Text 1-318, ending “Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt.” “DECLARATION | DV ROY | DE LA GRAND' BRETAGNE, | TOVCHANT LE TRAITE: | Et son déplaisir des procedures de l’armée. | Laquelle Declaration a esté mise par sa Majesté es | mains d’vn de ses seruiteurs, à son depart de | l’Iſle de Vwight, & lors que quelques troupes dé- | tachées de l’Armée de Fairfax (sur le point que | ledit Traité de Paix s’en alloit conclu avec le | Parlement) l’enlevuerent au Chasteau de Hurſt | en terre ferme vis à vis de ladite Iſle, d’où il | fut conduit appres à Windſore sur la Tamise, | & de là en son Palais Royal de Londres sa der- | niere prison. | Et publiée par son commandement, pour la satisfaction de ses bons Subjets. | (Ornamental block.) | A ROVEN, | Chez IEAN BERTHELIN, dans la Court du Palais. | M. DC. XLIX.” | Verso blank. Text of Declaration 321-6. “RAISONS | DV ROY | DE LA GRAND' BRETAGNE, | ALENCONTRE DE LA PRETENDVE | IVRISDICTION DE LA HAVTE COVR | de Iufſice, érigée par la Chambre des | Communes à la deuotion de l’armée, | afin de juger fa Majesté. | Lesquelles raisons ladite Majesté a voulu eſtre de- | liurées par écrit auant fa mort, ne tuy ayant | pas eſté permis de les déclarer de bouche pour | ſeruir à fa defense. | (Ornamental block.) | A ROVEN, | Chez IEAN BERTHELIN, dans la Court du Palais. | M. DC. XLIX.” Verso blank. Text of Reasons, Prayers, etc., pp. 329-52, ending “Excidat illa dies æuo, nec poſtera norint | Secula, —” 4 blank leaves at the end. The Contents include the Prayers, etc. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents but not in text. Number of Prayers, 4.

It is bound in old black morocco. Black edges.

What the booksellers would call an immaculate copy. It is evidently just as it left the publisher’s hands, after having been specially bound for some one. All the Errata have been neatly corrected in MS. by the translator (PORRÉE).

*MS. Inscriptions* :—“Bf: 4:1” (in three places). Under the Errata, “Les fautes font corrigées de la main de | l’autheur de la traduction. | J L P ‘/’ |

### THE “LICENSE TO PRINT.”

“PAR Arrest de la Cour de Parlement de Roüen donné le dix-neuſième Iuin 1649. signé MONTGOVBERT, il es permis à Iean Berthelin Marchand Libraire & Imprimeur en cette-dite Ville, d’imprimer, vendre & distribuer vn liure

intitulé *Le Portrait du Roy de la Grand' Bretagne*, en tel caractere qu'il aduisera, & fait deffences à tous autres Libraires & Imprimeurs, d'imprimer ny faire imprimer i celuy pendant le temps de six ans, à peine de cent liures d'amende, confiscation des Exemplaires contrefaicts, & de tous dépens, dommages & interests, ainsi qu'il est contenu audit Arrest."

*Extract from "PREFACE DE LA PREMIERE EDITION."*

".... En vn mot, cher Lecteur, c'est vn Liure que tu ne dois pas seulement tenir sous ton cheuet, comme Alexandre faisoit les ouüres d'Homere, mais le mettre dans ton sein, le ruminer iour & nuict, l'accoupler avec les Augustins, les Kempis, & tout ce que iamais les Anciens & les Modernes ont escrit de la pratique de Pieté. Je m'asseure que tu n'es pas de ces esprits capricieux, qui faisans vanité de douter en general de la verité de toutes les belles choses, & qui particulierement ayans tousiours pris plaisir, à penser sinistrement de ce pauvre Prince, osent encor mettre en question si cet ouvrage doit estre mis entre ses productions, vnu qu'ils le trouuent trop bien fait pour le mal qu'ils luy veulent: A ces gens-là, nous ne repartirons autre chose, sinon qu'ils prennent la peine de s'enquerir de l'original qu'on a de sa main; Qu'ils fassent recherche de toutes les merueilleuses pieces d'Estat que l'on a veus pendant la grande chaleur de ses guerres, & que l'on attribuoyt tantost à vn Secrétaire, tantost à l'autre, à mesure que l'espée ou les maladies faisoient vaquer leurs charges, mais dont la meilleure partie s'est en fin trouuée de sa façon; Qu'ils demandent à des personnes de mérite & de probité qui ont eu l'honneur d'approcher de luy tres-priuément, s'il n'est pas vray (comme ie l'ay entendu de leurs bouches) qu'ils ont autrefois recueilli de celle de ce grand Roy, les plus sublimes & deuotes expressions dont ce Liure est enrichy; Qu'ils consultent les libelles diffamatoires de ceux qui l'ont fait mourir, pour voir si la verité qui leur donne la torture, ne leur fait pas aduoier qu'il estoit vn des habilles Princes de son siecle; ce que ses seruiteurs & ses plus familiers n'ignoroyent non plus que ses ennemis, mais tous ses beaux talents estoient comme enfouys sous sa vie debonnaire & retirée, par la tranquilité de son Regne vuide des grandes affaires, qui font esclatter le genie des Roys, & par vne ie ne sqay quelle fatale inclination qu'auoit la pluspart des estrangers à n'en rien croire; il n'y a qu'en ces derniers iours que cette Pierre precieuse est devenuë plus brillante à force d'estre maniée par de rudes mains, & que l'or de ses vertus a paru au plus haut tiltre dans le creuset des afflictions; disons encor à ces incredules, qu'il est impossible qu'un autre que luy ait mis la main à cette piece, & que comme il est vray que iamais homme ne parla de la forte, qu'il faloit aussi estre le plus pieux de tous les hommes persecutez, & ensemble le meilleur Roy, & le plus sage Pere du monde, pour parler comme il fait à Dieu, de ses subjets, & à son propre fils; Quiconque fait bon marché de ses pensées à autrui, sans ressentir soy-mesme les maux dont il feint de se plaindre, cestuy-là ne sqauroit éuiter de trahir la cause de son amy par des termes languissants & vne deuotion émoussée; en vn mot, qu'ils comparent sa fin si Chrestienne avec les moyens qu'il se proposit dans son ouvrage pour l'acquerir, & qu'ils regardent s'il n'est pas mort de la sorte qu'il a écrit: Et puis s'ils ne se rendent à tant de raisons, asseurons-les qu'ils n'en ont point du tout, & que nous les espargnons si nous ne les mettons pas au nombre de ses persecuteurs. Que toutes les Nations donc ne fassent point de difficulté de le reconnoistre Autheur de ce Portrait où il s'est luy-mesme dépeint si magnifiquement, & que poussées du mesme esprit que moy, c'est à dire, du désir de faire service à Dieu, d'embrasser la defense de ses vivantes Images, & de l'amer de la vraye Pieté, elles s'employent couraigeusement à se le rendre intelligible: Pour moy (cher Lecteur) ie ne l'ay traduit en fauour de la nostre que par ces considerations Religieuses, & sans aucune vaine ambition de me faire regarder, sqachant bien qu'il n'y a point de trauail ingrat comme celuy des traductions, quoy que rien de si difficile, pour s'en acquitter dignement: Je n'ay pas creu neantmoins que celle de nostre Liure fust au dessous de moy, & ie ne dois point estre honteux de la reconnoistre pour mienne, si de tres-squauans personnages tirent vanité de servir d'interpretes, ou seulement de faire voir le iour, avec quelques legeres restitutions, à des Grecs & des Roms qui ont autresfois porté la besasse, & à des faiseurs de Romans: On ne se gaste iamais les mains à manier des Perles & des Diamans, qui que ce soit qui nous les presente, bien moins quand nous les tenons de celles d'un grand Monarque, & que ces precieux matereaux sont destinez à la construction d'un bastiment tout Celeste: d'ailleurs ie ne m'imagine point d'y avoir assez mal reüssi pour le desadouuer; Tout ce que t'apprehende, c'est de n'auoir pas laissé à ce beau Liure toutes les graces qu'il a en sa langue, dont l'expression serrée & les termes choisis, (quelquesfois si extraordinaires & peu visées que i'y ay veu des naturels du pays habiles gens, bien empeschez à les déchiffrer) en rendent d'abord les pensées épineuses, & la beauté difficilement imitable. Pourtant ie me flatte de cette creance, que ie ne fais nullement parler ce Royal escriuain contre ses sentimens; le ne suis pas cependant attaché si servillement à son langage que ie ne me sois donné cette legitime liberté que tous les Traducteurs entendus doivent prendre, de donner à leur Autheur quelques ornements de celuy où ils le mettent, d'en arrondir les periodes le plus iustement qu'ils peuvent, & sur tout d'y esclaircir les choses qui pourroient arrester leurs Lecteurs, si elles estoient restreintes dans la briefue simplicité de l'original . . . . ."

*Extract from "ADVIS SUR LA SECONDE EDITION."*

".... i'ay adjousté à cette seconde Edition quelques autres pieces d'Estat & de deuotion; dont la premiere escripte de la main du Roy, fut mise en celles dvn de ses domestiques, lors qu'il fut enleué de l'isle de Vvight par ses Persecuteurs; les autres, ou elles ont esté aussi baillées par sa Majesté à ceux qui la purent approcher immédiatement avant sa mort, ou bien elles nous sont restées apres, comme de précieuses reliques de ce saint Persecuté: Tu y trouuera Cher Lecteur, dequoy te confirmer en la croyance que ce grand Roy est l'vnique ouvrier qui a trauallé à toutes les parties de cet ouvrage, puisque tu y verras reluire le mesme genie, la mesme Majesté, constance, pieté, & charité, qu'en tout le reste, & ce qui est de plus pressant, cette mesme façons de s'exprimer difficilement imitable à qui que ce soit de ses subjets . . . . ."

I have turned the foregoing extracts into English, as follows :—

*Extract from "PREFACE DE LA PREMIERE EDITION."*

" . . . . In a word, dear reader, 'tis a volume which you ought not merely to place under your pillow as Alexander did with the Works of Homer, but carry it in your bosom; muse over it night and day; place it side by side with the writings of St. Augustine and Thomas A'Kempis, and with everything ever written by ancient and modern writers on the practice of piety. I feel certain that you are not to be numbered amongst those capricious spirits that, affecting to suspect the truth of everything that is good, and having especially always delighted in disparaging everything connected with this unfortunate monarch, would even go so far as to question whether this work should rightly be placed among his writings, since they find it too good for what they would like to believe him capable of composing. To such as these we will only retort—Ask for, and see the original in his own hand; examine those marvellously-expressed State Papers which have appeared from time to time during this fierce war, and which were attributed to the hand of one or another Secretary according as the sword or sickness laid them low, but the greater part of which really is the composing of the King himself. Ask those gentlemen worthy of credit, who had the honour of enjoying his private conversation, if it be not true, as I have heard from their own lips, that they have in former times heard, from the King's own mouth, those lofty and devout expressions which are contained in this book. Read the libels of those who brought him to the scaffold, and see if the truth, which it is so painful to them to realise, does not force them to declare that he was indeed one of the able men of his time—a fact which was well known, to those who served him and enjoyed his society, as well as to his foes—but all his good abilities were so to speak hidden under his easy disposition and retiring mode of life; by the uneventful character of his reign not giving scope for imperial genius, and by a certain fatal tendency of foreigners to ignore his abilities. In these last days nothing is left but this priceless gem, rendered even more precious by having been roughly and rudely handled, and only made to shine more brilliantly by the light of the fierce fires of adversity. Moreover, let us tell these unbelievers that none but he could have written it, and that as it is true that never before has a mere man discoursed in this wise, that so he must be owned to be the best of all persecuted men, and together the best of kings and wisest of fathers, to address Almighty God as he has concerning his people and to his own son. The man who holds cheaply his thoughts of another, without himself experiencing the misfortunes of which he affects to be the victim, must inevitably have betrayed himself by falling into the use of language evidently not springing from the heart of the writer. In a word, compare his Christian end with the means which he put before himself in his book, and see if he has not closed his life in the same posture of mind in which he wrote, and then let those who do not yield to all these arguments rest assured that we are showing mercy on them if we do not reckon them among the roll of his persecutors. May, then, the people of every land at once recognise the Author of this Portrait in the image which he has so perfectly rendered of himself, and, inspired by the same object as myself, that is to say, with the wish to do God service, to vindicate these presentations of man made after His own likeness, and with a love for genuine piety, may they boldly take in hand to make this book intelligible to themselves. For my part, dear reader, I have only been led by thoughts of a religious nature to render it into our tongue, and with no foolish thought of bringing myself into notice, well knowing that there is no office so thankless as a translator's, though there is no duty so hard to discharge satisfactorily. On the other hand, I have not thought the translation of this work an unworthy task, and I ought on no occasion to shrink from owning it as my work, seeing that very learned men are proud to act as interpreters, or merely to decipher and slightly restore the writings of the Greeks and Romans who wore the beggar's wallet in ancient days, and to translate romances. You cannot soil your hands with touching pearls and diamonds, whoever it may be that passes them to you; far less can you when it is a great monarch who hands them to you, and when these precious stones are to form a building of a character not of this earth. Moreover, I do not think that I have so badly fulfilled my endeavour as to justify any hesitation in owning my work. All that I dread is, lest I may not have left this beautiful work with all those graces which are in the original, in which terse idioms and choice phrases (at times so striking and uncommon that I have seen clever natives of his country much puzzled to interpret them) make the expression of the meaning of ideas a very difficult point, and the translating those thoughts again into beautiful language a hard matter indeed. However, I console myself in believing that in no sentence have I made this royal author use an expression contrary to his sentiments. Still, I have not stuck to so perfunctory a literal translation of the text as not to allow myself a translator's customary liberty of giving to the author's work some beautiful turns of expression that are peculiar to the language of the translation, and a certain freedom in rounding the periods as carefully as possible, and, most of all, in clearing up the meaning of any points which might be a stumbling-block to the readers of them if they remained confined in the briefly-expressed language of the original. . . . . "

*Extract from "ADVIS SUR LA SECONDE EDITION."*

" . . . . I have added to this second edition some other pieces relating to the State and to his religious exercises. The former of these pieces, written by the King, was given to one of his servants when he was taken from the Isle of Wight by his persecutors; the latter were either delivered also by His Majesty to those who could come quite near to him just before his death, or were found remaining afterwards as the treasured remains of this saintly object of persecution. You will find in them, dear reader, sufficient to confirm you in the belief that this great King is the only workman who has made every part of this entire work, since you will there again see brightly shining forth the same genius, the same majesty, steadfastness, goodness, and charity, as throughout the whole work, and what is still more to the point, that same mode of expression, most hard for any subject of his to counterfeit, be he whom he may. . . . . "

*Measurement* :—Binding 8 $\frac{3}{8}$  by 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ; text 7 $\frac{1}{16}$  by 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

*Size of type* :—Pica.

*Signatures* :—*a* and *e* in fours; the Table of Contents, 1 leaf; A to S 2 in fours. (Qijj is, in error, called R ijij, and paged 325 instead of 125.)

*Paging* :—1—139.

*Description* :—(*This is the Huguenot version, edited by the Roman Catholics in order to expose the falsehood of the translation.*) Frontispiece representing the King kneeling on both knees at a table, with crown of thorns in his right hand. Underneath the engraving is “*Christe iubes, pereat gemmis onerata corona, | Spinea nobilior sanguine facta tuo est.*” Title page: “*LES | MEMOIRES | DV FEV ROY DE LA | GRAND' BRETAGNE | CHARLES PREMIER, | ESCRITS DE SA PROPRE | MAIN DANS SA PRISON. | OV IL EST MONSTRE' QUE LE LIVRE | intitulé *Portrait du Roy de la Grand' Bretagne*, est vn Liure | aposté & diffamatoire. | Traduits de l' *Anglois* en nostre Langue, Par le sieur DE MARSYS. | Et enrichis d'Annotations, & de renuois tres-necessaires pour l'intel- | ligence de l'Ouурage. | (An ornamental block.) | A PARIS, | Chez FRANÇOIS PREVERRAY, grande rue | de la Bretonnerie, proche la porte S. Iacques. | M DC XLIX.*” Verso blank. “*AVX | MONARQVES | ET POTENTATS | DE LA CHRESTIENTE'.*” | 1 leaf:—

“*MAIESTEZ SACREES, Plusieurs Escriptuins anciens & modernes vous ont consacré la Theorie de la Politique Chrestienne, & moy ie vous en présente la Pratique en nostre Langue. Si le temps a esté si lent à vous la donner, c'est que pour la former, il falloit des Parties, qu'il estoit comme impossible de rencontrer en un mesme sujet: Il falloit qu'un Prince fust mal-traité de la Fortune, au point que l'a esté le feu Roy d'Angleterre; il falloit qu'il eust, comme huy, l'ame assez forte pour résister à tant de mal-heurs, & enfin qu'il eust le don d'escrire. L'aurois fait tort à cet Ouурage, & à tous les autres Princes, si ie l'eusse dédié à un seul; puisque c'est un thresor où ils se peuvent enrichir tous. VOS MAIESTEZ y trouueront le plus beau modele de justice, de force & de moderation, que la Philosophie soit capable d'imaginer; Elles y verront un Prince inébranlable pour sa Religion, pour les Loix Fondamentales de son Estat, & pour le bien de ses Peuples; & tout cela rehaussé du vif esclat d'une Pieté, qui brille & qui regne par dessus tout: pour toutes lesquelles choses, apres s'estre dépouillé de ses plus belles prerogatives, & avoir soustenu une guerre de cinq ans, avec autant de valeur que de mauaise Fortune, il a sacrifié sa liberté & sa vie. VOS MAIESTEZ verront un Sceptre brisé, mais une Ame entière; un Throsne abattu, mais un cœur esteulé; un corps emprisonné, mais des sentimens libres; un Roy dépouillé, mais un homme orné de toute sorte de vertus; une Couronne Royale chargée d'épines, mais une Couronne d'épines toute couverte de roses, dont l'odeur ne scaurroit nuire à VOS MAIESTEZ, puis qu'on tient que les bonnes odeurs fortifient le cerneau: Je veux dire qu'elle pourra rendre VOS MAIESTEZ fermes dans les reuers de la Fortune, & leur faire souuenir que la foudre attaque aussi-tost les Pins superbes, que les arbres nains.*

“*La seconde Raison, qui m'a obligé à dedier cet Ouурage à VOS MAIESTEZ, est que comme elles ont dessein, sans doute, d'estouffer ce Monstre de Rebellion, qui ne se nourrit que de Sang Royal, l'ay crû qu'elles seroient bien aise de voir qu'en vengeant la Royauté, elles vengeront encore l'Innocence & la Religion. Il seroit superflu de representer à VOS MAIESTEZ, les Raisons qui les y doiue porter, la chose parle d'elle-mesme; mais quand VOS MAIESTEZ n'auroient pas tout le ressentiment que des Ames generueuses & Royales doiuent avoir en ce rencontre, ie m'asseure que la Lecture de cet Ouурage est capable de leur en donner, que ie nomme tres à propos MEMOIRES, puisque VOS MAIESTEZ ne scaurroient ictter l'œil dessus, sans se ressouvenir en mesme temps, qu'il y va de leur honneur & de leur interest, à ne point laisser impunis des crimes de cette nature. Mais la Medecine nous enseigne que les maux inucterez deuinement incurables, & la Morale que les bien-faits apres lesquels on fait languir, perdent toute leur generosité. Je suis (sans preiudice à la qualité de fidele Sujet de SA MAIESTE' TRES-CHRESTIENNE) DE VOS MAIESTEZ, Le tres-humble, tres-obeyssant, & tres-affectionné Seruiteur, DE MARSYS.*”

This is followed by “*PREFACE | DV TRADVCTEVR.*” | 1 leaf and recto of the next :—

“*PLVSIEVRS ont desia escrit des troubles d'Angleterre; ie sus le premier qui en donnay quelque chose au Public: ceux qui m'ont suiy, seront encore suiuis par d'autres; mais ils me permettront de leur dire, qu'il faut que ces Memoires du feu Roy de la Grand' Bretagne, leur seruent à tous, comme de Soleil, où ils doiuent ajuster leurs Horloges. La plus part des Historiens deuinent les sentimens des Princes, lors qu'ils les font opiner ou prendre quelque resolution, & quand ils les font parler, ils leur font dire, ce qu'il leur semble qu'ils doiuent dire, ou ce que leur inspire leur partialité.*

“*Voicy donc la pierre de touche de la verité de l'Histoire des troubles d'Angleterre, depuis l'an 1640, iusques aux approches execrables du paricide de ce Roy. Pleust à Dieu que tous les Princes eussent mis la main à la plume, pour escrire leur Histoire, nous n'en aurions point tant de corrompués; ou les Autheurs qui les ont voulu blasmer ou flatter selon qu'ils y estoient interessez, n'ont laissé à la posterité que des traits de leur inuention & des suppositions de leur caprice.*

" Ce n'est pas d'aujourd'huy que les Roys ont joint les lettres aux armes, & le sçauoir à la valeur: Aussi leur appartient-il d'estre Vniuersels, & de sçauoir tout, puis qu'ils doient avoir l'ceil sur tout, & qu'ils president sur toutes les Charges eminentes de l'Estat. Il faut qu'un Roy soit le premier President du Tribunal de la Justice, qui soit le Generalissime de ses Armées, le Chef de son Conseil, le Surintendant de ses Finances, le premier Magistrat, & en quelque façon le Primat de l'Eglise dans son Royaume. Cette dernière qualité, qui n'a pas moins esclaté que les autres dans le feu Roy d'Angleterre, surprendra peut-être le Lecteur; il s'estonnera de le voir parler en beaucoup d'endroits des choses de l'Eglise, avec tant de zele & de doctrine. Mais qu'il sçache que les Roys ses Predecesseurs luy auoient laissé, non seulement le Timon de l'Estat, mais encore celuy de l'Eglise; & qu'à son aduenement à la Couronne, à moins de renoncer à la qualité de Roy, il lui fallut accepter celle de Chef dans les choses spirituelles.

" C'est ce qui a obligé ce Prince de se rendre sçauant dans les choses de l'Eglise, outre que l'Angleterre estant deuenue vne pepiniere de sectes & d'heresies, qui y pullulent tous les iours, il estoit à propos que le Roy, comme Superieur dans le Spirituel, s'armast contre ces Monstres, qui s'éleuoient contre la Hierarchie, que l'Eglise Anglicane auoit encore retenué, & dont le Roy estoit le Chef.

" Cette connoissance des choses saintes est comme annexée à la Couronne d'Angleterre, & leur a esté si aduantageuse, qu'elle leur a acquis le Titre glorieux de Duffenseurs de la Foy, du temps qu'ils faisoient profession de la Religion Catholique: Le Roy Iacques depuis, pere du feu Roy, escriut diuerses pieces sur la dessein qu'il auoit de reconcilier les Eglises Chrestiennes; C'est pourquoi nous n'auons pas besoin d'aller chercher dans l'antiquité des exemples des Roys, qui ont escrit des choses saintes. L'ancien Testament nous en fournit deux, particulierement dans les personnes Royales de David & de Salomon, que le Roy d'Angleterre imite fort dans les Reflexions Chrestiennes, qu'il fait à la fin de chaque matiere, en forme de Pseaumes & de Prieres.

" Pour ce qui regarde les parties Morales & Politiques de cet Ouvrage, nous en auons aussi vn exemple tout recent dans l'instruction que le Roy Iacques laissa à ses enfans qu'il nomme don Royal. Parmy les Empereurs de Constantinople, Basile le Macedonien, Constantin VIII. & Emanuel le Paleologue ont escrit trois beaux Traitez, par lesquels ils ont laissé leurs enfans heritiers de leur vertu, aussi bien que de leur Empire. L'Empereur Augste, & Marc-Antoine en ont fait de mesme; Mais particulierement Iules-Cesar, qui nous a laissé dans ces diuins Commentaires, vn tres-rare assemblage des Lettres & de la valeur.

" Je ne doute qoint que plusieurs Roys Chrestiens n'en ayant fait de mesme, mais leurs Successseurs n'ont pas trouué à propos de donner leurs Escrits au Public; Il y a quelque temps qui me tomba entre les mains vn tres-beau Manuscrit, que Philippe II. Roy d'Espagne escriut à sa mort. Pour moy, ie croy que c'est le plus grand thresor qu'un Prince puisse laisser à la posterité, que les ressorts les plus secrets de son administration, qui satisfont parfaitement les esprits curieux de l'Histoire, & fournissent aux Politiques vne experiance certaine, par laquelle ils se peuvent regler.

" Le feu Roy d'Angleterre estoit le Prince le plus accomplly qui ait de long-temps porté Couronne; Il estoit tres-bien versé dans les saintes Escritures, comme nous venons de dire, dans l'Histoire, & dans les Loix de son Estat; il s'exprimoit avec eloquence, & sur tout auoit le sens extremement bon, de sorte que l'on a remarqué que ses affaires n'ont iamais mieux réussie, que lors qu'il a suiy ses propres sentiments, dont par vn excef de prudence, il ne laissoit pas de se dessier pour se remettre à son Conseil. Mais lors que la prison luy a osté toute communication, horsmis celle de Dieu, ses Ennemis mesme se sont estonnez de la clarté de son esprit & de la solidité de son jugement en plusieurs rencontres, où ils l'ont obligé de respondre sur le champ en des matieres tres-delicates; & mesme en des Conferences touchant la Religion, il a tenu teste à des Ministres des plus habiles, pour la deffense de la dignité Episcopale, qu'ils vouloient destruire. Ces doctes Conferences se sont imprimées à Londres, par l'ordre de ses Adversaires, qui seruiron à dementir ceux qui oseront dire, que cet Ouvrage est trop sçauant pour venir d'un Roy: comme aussi ses papiers qui furent pris à la Bataille de Nasby, dont le Roy traitte dans le Chapitre XXI. qui furent imprimez à Londres par ordre du Parlement.

" Pour les qualitez d'un parfait Causalier, ce Prince les possoit toutes, comme les belles Lettres & les nobles exercices du Corps, & entr'autres estoit fort bon homme de cheual; il estoit tres-bien fait de sa Personne, estoit fort vaillant, comme il a fait voir dans la plus part des Batailles où il s'est trouué durant ses Troubles; Le defaut que les rafinez Politiques ont remarqué dans sa Personne, estoit qu'il panoit trop du costé de la Clemence & de la Bonté, & qu'il ne s'est pas seru des aduantages que les armes donnent aux victorieux, par vne tendresse qu'il auoit pour ses Subjets.

" Lecteur, tu ne trouueras pas icy toute la grace, ny toute la force de l'Idiome Anglois, neantmoins ie m'en suis estoigné le moins que i'ay pu, aimant mieux parler vn François vn peu Anglisé, que de me mettre en danger d'alterer-les sentimens du Roy, & gaster la Matiere, en voulant trop polir la forme; C'est ainsi qu'en ont vsé les Traducteurs des Liures d'importance, comme des saintes Escritures, & des Ouvrages des grands Hommes. I'ay crû qu'il me falloit auoir de la veneration pour les Escrits d'un Roy, & prendre moins de liberté dans leur Traduction, que ie n'aurois pas fait dans l'Ouvrage d'un particulier, & dans vne Matiere de moindre importance.

" Pour ce chaos de lumiere, de tenebres, de mers, de rochers, de jardins, de poids d'horloge, & tout ce fatras qu'ils ont mis dans la Taille-douce, trouué cela trop pedantesque; comme aussi le tiltre Grec, & celuy de Portrait, dont nos faiseurs de Liures à la douzaine se sont seruis si souuent. Bref, de tout ce qui n'est pas du Roy d'Angleterre, i'en ay fait à ma fantaisie, comme j'ay été tres-religieux à tout ce qui est party de sa plume; mesme dans les tiltres des Chapitres, qu'ils ont mis en troisième personne, ie les ay mis en premiere, parce qu'il n'y auoit point de tiltre dans le manuscript du Roy; & s'il en a fallu mettre pour distinguer les Matieres, j'ay crû n'auoir pas mal-fait de les mettre en premiere personne."

On verso of second leaf of the foregoing is one page headed "L'ESTAT DES AFFAIRES, ET LE TEMPS | auquel le Roy d'Angleterre commença d'escrire | ces MEMOIRES." "ADVERTISSEMENT, |

*OV IL EST MONSTRE QVE LE LIVRE* | intitulé Portrait du Roy de la Grand' Bretagne,  
est aposté | & diffamatoire." | 4 leaves. The concluding portion of which is as follows:—

"Si le dessein du Traducteur de Roiien n'eust pas esté mauuais, il auroit rendu ce respect à la Cour d'Angleterre, de sçauoir de sa Majesté, si elle trouoit bon que ce Liure se traduisit; ou du moins il auroit communiqué sa Traduction à quelques Anglois à Roiien, où il y en a quantité. Et quant tout cela luy auroit manqué, il pouuoit la faire voir à quelque amy, qui entendist le sens commun & la Langue Françoise, qui luy auroit descouert ses galimatias & les fautes contre le langage, le Liure en auroit esté moins difforme. Mais ce n'estoit pas là où il buttoit, il falloit promptement mettre au iour vn auorton informe, qui donnast mauuaise impression de cét excellent Ouurage, & qui fit passer le Roy d'Angleterre pour Huguenot dans l'esprit des Peuples. Bref, les Caluinistes d'Angleterre n'estoient pas satisfaits, d'auoir osté à ce Prince, la vie du Corps; il falloit qu'il s'en trouuast vn en France, qui luy rauit celle de la reputation, qui est la seule chose qu'il ait sauuée de son naufrage.

"Tellement que ceux qui ont ce Liure diffamatoire, sont obligez non seulement d'imiter plusieurs personnes d'honneur, & de tendre conscience, qui l'ont mis a feu; non seulement parce que ce n'est point l'Ouurage du Roy d'Angleterre, mais les resueries dvn particulier, mais encor à cause des Heresies & des blasphemés contre l'Eglise de Dieu, qu'il y a inserées. Que si ses considerations ne touchent pas les Religionnaires (quoy quelot homme d'honneur doive abhorrer le mensonge & la fausseté, dans quelque sujet qu'ils se rencontrent) ils doivent estouffer la honte & le reproche qu'ils peuuent receuoir en voyant ce Liure, qu'vn Huguenot a rauy la reputation à vn Prince mal-heureux; & oster cét aduantage à leurs Aduersaires, que cette Traduction sert d'argument & de conuiction, que les Caluinistes sont si enclins à corrompre les Escritures, qu'ils les corrompent mesme en des choses indifferentes, sans parler des choses qu'il a mises au prejudice de leur Religion, comme ces termes de *Religion contraire*, & cét endroit touchant les Epitaphes des Catholiques, comme aussi dans sa Preface, où il dit que les Caluinistes ont poussé le Roy d'Angleterre sur le bord du precipice; car on le croira bien plustost, parce qu'vn Caluiniste l'a aduoiié.

"Je croy auoir suffisamment fait voir que ce liure intitulé *Portrait*, est diffamatoire à l'Eglise de Dieu, au feu Roy de la Grand' Bretagne, & mesme à Messieurs de la Religion. Il est encore plus aisé de montrer qu'il est aposté. Mais ie t'ay promis dans mon tiltre que ce seroient les *Memoires* te le seroient voir: parce que les comparans avec cette ridicule Traduction, quoy que ce soient deux copies tirées sur vn mesme Original; tu les trouuera si différentes, qu'il faudra de nécessité que tu aduoies, que lvn ou l'autre n'est pas l'Ouurage du Roy; Et partant que lvn des liures est aposté: Du reste, ie t'en fais le Iuge, selon la traduction Latine, ou l'Original Anglois que tu trouuera chez l'Imprimeur: Que si tu prends cette peine, ie t'asseure que tu renconteras dans chaque chap. autant de fautes, que i'en ay cy-dessus remarquées dans le chap. 15. I'en ay fait vn recueil qui contient trois fuesilles de papier: car en traduisant j'auois l'Anglois, le Latin, & cette belle traduction, lesquelles trois langues j'entends Dieu mercy assez bien.

"Pour les pieces quil a adjoustées dans sa seconde impression; ne les ayant point veuës dans le Manuscript du Roy, ie ne les ay point voulu mettre icy: outre que ie n'y tuone rien qui ne soit dans les *Memoires*, horsmis ce que le Roy enjoint devant mourir au Duc de Gloucester & à la Princesse Elizabeth, qui est de recognoistre le Roy d'apresent leur aïsne pour Souuerain, & de ne point souffrir qu'on leur mette la Couronne sur la reste, au prejudice de leurs deux aïsnez; car le bruit courroit alors que l'armée vouloit Couronner le Duc de Gloucester: Ce Prince leur recommanda aussi de demeurer fermes dans la Religion Protestante, parce qu'il les laissoit entre les mains des Puritains & des Sectaires. Mais pour le Dialogue que nostre traducteur fait faire au Roy, au Duc, & à la Princesse, il faudroit que quelqu'vn eust eu la main à la plume lors qu'ils s'entretenoient; ce qui ne s'est pas fait: & partant l'on ne doit escrire que la substance du discours. Mais que cette malice est absurde & interessée, lors qu'il fait recommander au Roy trois Liures de la plus rafinée Controuersé, à ces jeunes Princes, qui à peine sont en aage d'apprendre les Rudiments de la doctrine Chrestienne?

"Pour les raisons qui defendent la cause du Roy, qu'on a encore adjoustée, elles sont aussi superfluës, & ne sont pas dans le manuscript du Roy, non plus que dans la Traduction Latine; & puis cette cause n'a point besoin d'Aduocat, & sans cela l'innocence de ce Prince est assez bien en son jour dans ses *Memoires*. Pour ce qui est des Oraisons, que peuuent-elles dire apres tant de belles Meditations and Reflexions Chrestiennnes, dont ces *Memoires* sont tous remplis, & puis encore vne fois, elles ne sont point dans le manuscript, ny dans la Traduction Latine de Mr Earles. Il est bien vray que le Roy a composé vn autre bel Ouurage; mais pour certaines raisons, on ne l'imprimera pas encore si tost. Je te le donneray, Lecteur, quand il me sera permis de la faire. Ce n'est pas que ie desaprouve le zèle de ceux qui ont adjousté ces choses-là; mais bien leur inconsideration. Le Liure du Roy est vn chef-d'œuvre accompli, & comme il n'y a rien qui approche plus des Escritures saintes, que les ouurages des Roys, il ne faut pas y adjouster, ny en oster ou alterer vn iota. Et veu ces augmentations, ce Liure se peut encore nommer aposté.

"Lecteur, ie te conjure par le respect que nous devons au morts, & aux Roys particulierement, & par la compassion que des Chrestiens sont obligez d'auoir pour les malbeureux, de ne point oster à ce Prince, ce que ses plus detestables ennemis luy ont laissé; c'est à dire de prendre la peine de te desabuser & de ne point transmettre à la Posterité, vn Portrait si hideux de la belle ame de ce grand Roy. Si tu luy refuse cette grace, tu seras d'autant plus cruel par dessus ses bourreaux, que la vie est moins estimable que la bonne renommée; puisque l'vne perit, quoy que nous fassions, & que l'autre subsiste en dépit de la mort, si les hommes la veulent conseruer à ceux qui l'a meritent."

"TABLE | DES CHAPITRES." | 1 leaf, concluding with a list of errata. Text pp. 1-139, ending  
"O Seigneur! laisse aller ton serviteur en paix, car mes yeux ont veu ton | salutaire. | FIN."

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{8}$  by  $2\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long primer.

*Signatures*:—A 6 leaves (the last blank); \* 2 leaves; a 6 leaves; b 2 leaves; B to B b in sixes; a to g 4 in sixes.

*Paging*:—1-269 (*Eikon*); 1-79.

*Description*:—On recto of first leaf, “Dernieres œuvres, | DE SA | MAJESTE’ | DE LA | Grande Bretagne; |

CHARLES I.” On the verso is, “ΑΓΟΘΑΝΩΝ “ΕΤΙ

ΑΛΛΕΙΤΑΛ” Title page (as fac-simile), and on verso,

“Rom. 8. | Plus que Conquereur, &c. | Bona agere, & mala

pati, | Regium est. | Portrait Roial, Chap. 8. § 2. | C'eſt

Mon deſir de Me | Souvenir touſtours d'a- | vantage, que

Je ſuis | Chreſtien que Roy.” Dedication to Charles II.,  $3\frac{1}{2}$

leaves, signed “ΦΙΑΑ'ΝΑΞ,” the writer describing him-

self as “Serviteur & Suiet,” and has dated his Dedication

“Sept. MDCXLIX.” The remaining half leaf and the next

following leaf contain verses beginning “GRAND ROY,

ce Noble Monument.” 1 blank leaf. The next leaf and

recto of the following contain a letter, “A Monſeigneur |

LE | Comte de BRISTOL,” signed “D. C.” On verso are

two extracts from text of the *Eikon*. Then “Au Lecteur,”

5 leaves. “Advertiſſement,” 1 leaf. Contents (including

the Conference at Newcastle), 2 leaves. Text of *Eikon*,

pp. 1-269. Then follow the Prayers, etc., with a separate

Title page:—“PRIERES | DE SA | MAJESTE’ | DE LA |

GRANDE BRETAGNE: | Dans Ses | SOUFFRANCES & SOLI-

TUDES. | Mises éſ mains de D. JUXON Evesque | de LONDRES,

immediatement | avant Sa Mort. | Avec Ses DERNIERS

PROPOS, | tenus à la Princeſſe ELIZABETH, | & au Duc de

Gloceſtre. | (An ornement) | Imprimées | A LA HAYE,

l'An. MDCXLIX.” The Prayers are four, namely—Cap-

tivity, Another Prayer, Affliction, and Imminent Danger.

There is also a separate Title page for the Papers which

passed at Newcastle; but all that has been described is to

all intents and purposes one book, and there is no doubt

that it was printed in London by DuGard. The Thomason

copy in the British Museum has, on the Title page of the

*Eikon*, “haye” erased, and “A Londres” written in;

Ses Méditations Sacrées, Prieres,  
Derniers Propos, Conférences de Neuf-  
châtel avec Henderson, touchant le  
Gouvernement de l'Eglise Anglaise;  
Et quelques autres pieces non  
encor mises en lumiere.



Imprimées  
A LA HAYE l'An. MDCXLIX.

also “Jan: 1st.” The cataloguer has written on the fly-leaf, “[Translated by D. Caillon of Rouen. Porrée's translation appears to have been only a revision of this].” The press mark is E 1255.

The following is usually to be found at the end of the same volume as this edition:—“Metamorphose | Des Isles Fortunées; | A LA | REYNE DOVAILIERE | De la Grande BRETAGNE.” | pp. 1-56. The sheets in this volume have often been mixed in binding.

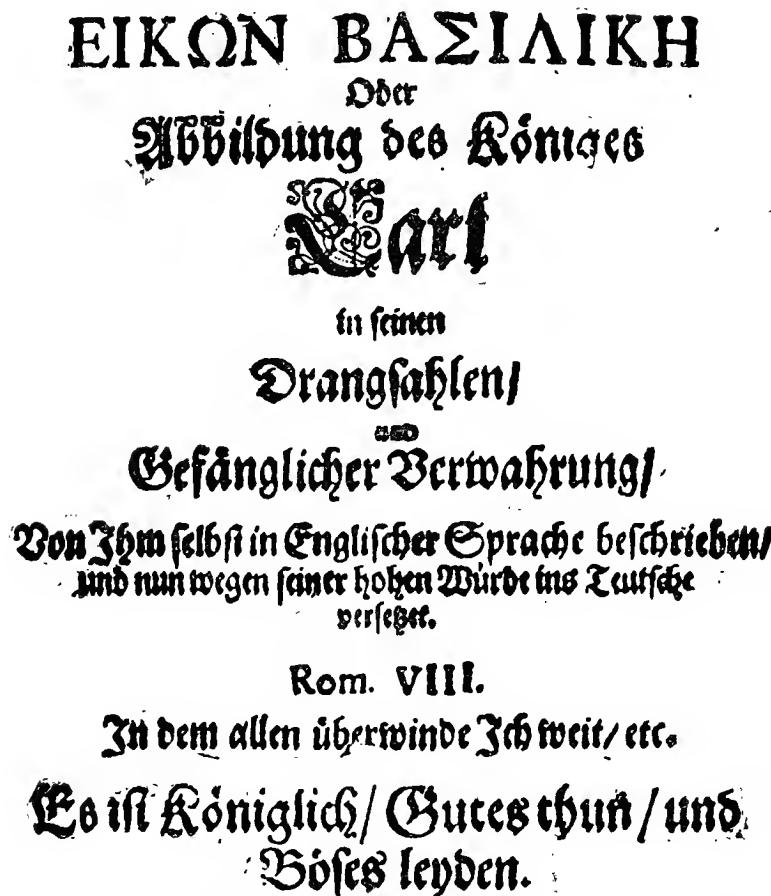
There is also a copy (G 15429) in the Grenville Library of the British Museum. I have a copy bound in white vellum.  
12th in Wagstaffe's second list.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $7\frac{1}{8}$  by  $6\frac{5}{8}$ ; text  $6\frac{3}{8}$  by  $4\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—10 point (German text).

*Signatures*:—(?) 6 leaves, including the plate; A to X 3 in fours.

*Paging*:—(Not paged.)



*Description*:—The Frontispiece.

Title page (as fac-simile). On verso and the two following leaves, Dr. Earles' Dedication, in German. The recto of the next leaf blank, and on the verso and the following leaf "Erklärung des Kupfferstichs."

Text of the *Eikon* A to V 3 in fours, not paged. Then follows "Erklärung," etc., 3 leaves, and 1 leaf of Contents. The whole work is, or course, a translation from the Latin into German.

Bound in old leather.

B. M. 597. d. 22. (5.)

This German edition has a version of the frontispiece which is quite different from any other. The greater part of it resembles, in general character, the well-known varieties, but the lower part of the plate is altogether a separate design, and shows the King in prison, sitting at a table, and writing in a book. The plate is signed "Frasc. Allen sculp."

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ . *Size of type*:—Long Primer (roman and black letter).

*Signatures*:—\* 5 leaves; A 11 leaves; B to O in twelves; P 9 leaves.

*Paging*:—1-350.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Recto of next leaf blank. On verso is oval portrait of Charles I, in broad-brimmed hat. Under the portrait is: “Hier blinkt het wezen der verkochte Majestet, | Die Engelandt beschaamt; daar Yrlande noch om schreit; | Die Vader moor denaans ontfangen; neen, maar vingen, | Toen 't Goudt veel zwaarder woeg als dartig zilverlingen. | Brandt.” Title page (as fac-simile). Verso blank.

“Den Oversetter aen den Lefer. | Bescheyden Lefer.” | 4 leaves, not paged, ending “God beware den Koning.” Text, pp. 1-350, ending “Laet dan Heere, | uwen dienftknecht gaen in vrede na uwen | woorde.” | “INHOUDT | der | CAPITTELEN.” | 2 leaves, ending “FINIS,” and, at foot of page, a catch-word “Korte.” 1 blank leaf at the end. The text, with the exception of the Prayer at the close of each chapter, is in black letter. Contents only include the *Eikon*. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text. It does not contain the Prayers.

Bound old calf, red edges, apparently just as it left the publishers.

(?) Tenth in Wagstaffe's second list.

## 60.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $5\frac{3}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer (roman and black letter).

*Signatures*:—A to O in twelves. *Paging*:—5-332.

*Description*:—On recto of first leaf a plate (which belongs to the edition)—the King, wearing a broad-brimmed hat, is writing at a table. At the top of the plate are the words “KONINCKLICK | MEMORIAEL.” At the foot of the plate is the inscription: “t' Amstelredam, | By Iosſt Hartgers op den Dam bÿt Stadthuys.” Verso blank. Title page: “ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ'. | Konincklick | MEMORIAEL. | Waer in het innerlijck gemoet | van sijne H. MAJESTEYT, | CAROLUS STUART, | Koninck van Engelandt, Schotlandt en | Yrlandt, naer 't leven afgebeeldt wordt. | In sijne ghebanckenis en lijdlaemheit

In sijne gevankenis by hem selver in 't Engelsch beschreven;  
Ende nu in 't Nederduitsch / na de  
oprechte Copijc / vertaelt:

Zijnde defen Druck van veel grove foute  
ten in de oversettinge gesuyvert; en ver-  
meerderd met een korte onderrech-  
tinge van 't Recht des Konings,  
en des Parlements.

't Is Koninglyk, goet te doen, en't quade te lijden



Tot ROTTERDAM,  
Gedrukt by Joannes Næranus, Boek-ver-  
kooper, op 't Stegger / 1649.

by hem selver in 't Engelsch beschreven; En in Nederduitsch vertaalt. | Bona agere, mala pati, Regium eſt. | 't Is Conincklijck, 't goede te doen, en 't quade te lijden. | (Royal Arms.) | t' AMSTELREDAM, | Voor Joost HARTGERS, Boeckverkoper op den Dam, | besyden 't Statthuys, op de hoek van de Kalver-Straet, 1649.” Verso blank. Text, pp. 5-332, ending “EYNDE.” Catch-word “IN-.” Then follows “INHOUDT | der | Capittelen defes Boecks.” | 2 leaves, ending “t'AMSTELREDAM, | Gedrukt by ADRIAAN ROEST, | voor aen in de Bloem-straat. Chapter 28 is not numbered in Contents nor in text.

Bound in old calf, gilt back. The first half of the volume is “Engelandts | MEMORIAEL.”

## 61.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $14\frac{1}{8}$  by  $9\frac{3}{4}$ ; text  $10\frac{1}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—16 point.

*Signatures*:—(*Eikon*) B to N in sixes; O 4 leaves.

*Paging*:—(*Eikon*) 1-151.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Recto of next leaf blank. On verso is full page engraving of Royal Arms (“*W. Hollar fecit*”). Full page engraving, showing bust of Charles I, on pedestal (“*A. Hertocks fecit*”). Verso blank. Title page: “ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΑ. | THE WORKES | OF | King Charles | THE MARTYR : | WITH | A COLLECTION | OF | DECLARATIONS, | TREATIES, | And other PAPERS concerning the *Differences* | BETWIXT | His said Majesty | AND HIS | Two Houses of Parliament. | LONDON, | Printed by James Flesher for R. Royston, Book-seller to | His most Sacred MAJESTY. MDCLXII. | A 3.” Verso blank. Royston’s Dedication to Charles II. Verso blank. License to Royston to print (*see p. 119*). Verso blank. Title page: “THE WORKES | OF | King Charles I. | DEFENDER | OF THE | FAITH. | WITH THE | HISTORY | OF HIS | LIFE : | AS ALSO | OF HIS TRIALL | AND | MARTYRDOME. | JOH. 10. 32. | For which of My Good Deeds? | LONDON, | Printed by James Flesher for R. Royston, Bookseller to | His most Sacred MAJESTY. MDCLXII.” On verso is short Contents. Contents, 2 leaves. Life of Charles I. (Perinchief’s), pp. 1-120. Short Title page: “ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF HIS | SACRED MAJESTY | IN HIS | SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS. | q 2.” Verso blank. Double page plate of the King kneeling, with a crown of thorns in his right hand (engraved by A. Hertocks). Text of *Eikon* pp. 1-151, ending “Vota dabunt quæ bella negârunt. | FINIS.” Verso of 151 blank. The Newcastle Papers, pp. 155-89. Verso of 189 blank. “PRAYERS | USED BY KING CHARLES | IN THE TIME | OF HIS TROUBLES | AND RESTRAINT.” Verso blank. Text of Prayers (7), pp. 193-8. Then follow the Messages for Peace, His Majesty’s Declarations, His Majesty’s Letters, His Majesty’s Speeches and History of his Trial, pp. 199-458, ending with “CAROLI Primi τῷ Makapirē Epitaphium ‘Εγδεκασυλλαβικόν.” The Death Warrant, with the names of those signing it, is printed in red. On recto of next leaf is the epitaph, “M. S. | Sanctissimi Regis & Martyris, Caroli Primi.” | etc. Verso blank. “An Elegie upon the Death of Our Dread Sovereign Lord King | CHARLES the MARTYR.” | 1 page, ending “THE END.” Verso blank. Title page: “A | COLLECTION | OF | DECLARATIONS, | TREATIES, | AND OTHER | Principal Passages concerning the DIFFERENCES | BETWIXT | King Charles I. | AND HIS | TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. | Clearly Manifesting | The Justice of His Cause. | His Sinceritie in Religion. | His Constant Endeavours for Peace. | *Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.* | (A block, showing an eagle and her young brood. Encircling the block are the words ‘PRO LEGE ET PRO GREGE.’) | London, Printed by James Flesher for R. Royston, Book-seller to His | most Sacred MAJESTY. MDCLXII.” On verso is short

**Contents.** "THE PREFACE," 2 leaves. On verso of second and following leaf is Contents. Text of Declarations, etc., pp. 1-733, ending "FINIS." Verso of 733 blank. Following p. 51 is a double-page plate headed "The Parable of Iotham;" and after p. 412 is a double-page plate of "The Goodly CEDAR," being "the Church Catholick." "An Historical Table of both Volumes." 2 leaves, ending "THE END." Flesher's colophon. Verso blank. 2 blank leaves. Chapter 28 (of *Eikon*) is numbered in Contents and in text.

Bound in calf, gilt. Royal Arms on each cover.

25th in Wagstaffe's second list.

**Another copy.**—Undoubtedly bound for King Charles the Second by Samuel Mearn, the Royal binder.

It is in two volumes, crimson morocco, richly gilt, with large Royal Arms on each cover. The Title pages, etc., etc., are most carefully ruled in red ink.

**MS. Inscriptions:**—"Mrs." (? MARY) "KEYNES | her Booke." At the top of Title page, in more recent hand, "Ex dono THO: BOWDLER. Ex lib. WILL: McGWIRE."

The Carlton Club has a copy of this edition.

Same as B. M. 599. k. 1.

When the Prince of Orange visited Oxford, at the end of 1670, the University's present to him was a copy of *The Works of Charles the First*. (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.* 1671. Page 12.)

The Rev. H. BERNARD DERHAM MARSHALL has this and the next edition.

Mrs. BERTHA ROBSON writes to report a copy which she saw many years ago, chained in Eaglescliffe Church, County of Durham. It is still in the church, and Mr. R. I. F. Wilson, the rector's churchwarden, true to his family motto, "Pro regibus ac legibus," has had the binding most carefully and skilfully restored by Mr. Gray, of Cambridge.

The BISHOP OF RICHMOND kindly reports that at Stanhope there is, safely guarded, a copy with the following old **MS. Inscription**:—"This Booke belongeth | to the Parish of Stanhop | in Weredale | December 1. 1664, | P 1<sup>lb</sup>. 13<sup>sh</sup>. 6<sup>d</sup>." The writer adds:—"The binding is the ordinary brown leather. The iron clasps by which it was chained in the church still remain." There is also a copy of an early *Eikon*, in contemporary tooled binding, believed to have been in the possession of the rectors of Stanhope since the days of Isaac Basire, who was chaplain to Charles the First, and rector of Stanhope, 1646-1676. There are a large number of letters of Isaac Basire in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. His letters or, rather, a portion of them, were edited by Dr. Darnell, a former rector of Stanhope. The following is from Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*:—"In the time of the Rebellion he was sequestred, Purseanted, Plundered, and Forced to Fly, first to his Majesty at Oxford, afterwards from Place to Place here in England; and at last abroad, into Foreign Countries." Isaac Basire held both the neighbouring livings—Stanhope and Eaglescliffe.

**Another copy.**—It has the Winchester Cathedral book-plate (representing a fine view of the Cathedral), with the words "LIB. ECCLES: CATH: WINTON:."

**Another copy.**—With the Royal Arms, stamped in gold, on each cover.

It has the remains of light blue silk strings.

**Yet one copy more.**—In two volumes. Bound in old calf, with the Arms of the Dukes of Beaufort and a ducal coronet stamped on the back of each volume. Each contains the Armorial book-plate of the family, with "HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE" round the shield, and "MUTARE VEL TIMERE SPERNO" below.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{5}{8}$ ; text  $5\frac{7}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ,

*Signatures*:—A 2–8, 7 leaves; B to R in eights.

*Description*:—The volume is as follows: 1 blank leaf. A Title page: “THE | Royal Martyr: | or,

# EIKΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

Sp lib: Joh: 16.92  
Mr: Ethan: THE 22<sup>nd</sup> 1692

# POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

ROM. VIII.  
*More than Conqueror, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

L O N D O N,  
Printed by R. Norton for Richard Royston,  
Bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty,  
M DC LXXXI.

Perlege RELIQUIAS verè Sacras CAROLINAS, | In Quæsis, | Ipſa Sui Iconem, Ære perenniorem, | vivaciùs exprimit | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.” | The next leaf is occupied by the following: “CAROLI

Primi τε Μακαρίτε | Epitaphium Ενδεκασυλλαβικόν. | SIſas, jacrilegum Peam, Viator, | Nè forſan

*Size of type*:—12 point.

*Paging*:—(*Eikon*) 1–256.

THE | LIFE and DEATH | or | KING | Charles I. | ROMANS 8. | —more than Conquerour. | *Bona agere, & mala pati Regium est.* | LONDON, | Printed by J.M. for R. Royston, Bookseller | to His most Sacred Majesty. MDCLXXVI.” Verso blank. R. Royston’s Dedication to Charles II, 1 leaf. Charles II’s License to print, 1 leaf. “TO THE | READER.” | 1 leaf, signed “Rich. Perrinchieſ.” “MAJESTY | IN | MISERY: | or, | An Imploration to the | KING of KINGS.” | 3 leaves. Text of the Life of King Charles, pp. 1–266. An Appendix of Select Meditations, Declaration, etc., pp. 267–311, ending “Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt.” On verso of 311 is “M. S. | Sanctissimi Regis & Martyris, CAROLI Primi. | Siste, Viator; | Luge, Obmutesce, Mirare; | Memento CAROLI ILLIUS | Nominis pariter & insignissimæ Pietatis PRIMI, | MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ ILLIUS, | Qui Rebellium Perfidiâ primò deceptus | Dein Perfidorum Rabie percussus, | Inconcusus tamen LEGUM & FIDEI DEFENSOR, | Schismatricorum Tyrannidi succubuit, | Anno | Salutis Humanæ MDCLXVIII, | Servitutis Britanicæ, } Primo, Felicitatis Suæ, } Coronâ Terrestri spoliatus, Cœlesti donatus. | Sed, Sileant perituras Tabellæ:

temeres sacros sepulchri | Augusti Cineres. Repōstus hīc est | In Terræ Gremio Decor Stupórque | Humani Generis; Senex, & Infans; Prudens scilicet Innocénsque Princeps: | Regni Præfidium, Ruina Regni; Vitâ Præfidium, Ruina Morte. | Quem Regem potiùs, Patrémque dicam? | O Patrem priùs, & deinde Regem! | Regem quippe suî, Patrémque Regni. | Hic Donumque Dei, Deique Cura, | (Quem Vitáque refert, refertque Morte,) | Ringente Satanâ, Canente Cœlo, | Diro in Pegmate [Gloriæ Theatro] | Et Christi Cruce, Victor & Securi | Baptista emicuit. Ruina Felix! | Quâ Divum Carolus secutus Agnum, | Et postliminio domum vocatus | Primævæ Patriæ fit Inquilinus. | Sic Lucis priùs Hesperus Cadentis | Resplendet modò Phosphorus Reversæ. | Hic Vindex Fidei sacer Vetusæ, | Cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum, | Naturæ Typus absolutioris, | Fortunæ Domitor ferendo suæ; | Qui quantum Calicis bibit tremendi, | Tantundem fibi Gloriæ reportat; | Regum Maximus, unicúsque Regum, | In quo Res minima est, fuisse Regem. | Solus qui superâ locatus Arce | Vel Vitâ poterit frui priore. | Quum sint Reliquiæ, Cadaver, Umbra | Tam facri Capitis vel ipsa sacra, | Ipsis Elogiis coinquinata, | Quæque ipsum Ἐνδεκαστύλλαβον prophanat; | Sifas sacrilegum Pedem, Viator. | Tho. Pierce, D. D. Coll. Magd. apud Oxon. Praeses." | (At the foot of the foregoing is an 8-line verse, in old MS., signed "MONTEROSS." See below.) On recto of next leaf is "An EPITAPH upon KING | CHARLES. | SO falls that stately Cedar; while it stood | That was the only glory of the Wood; | Great CHARLES, thou earthly God, celestial Man, | Whose life, like others, though it were a span; | Yet in that span was comprehended more | Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore: | Thy heavenly virtues Angels should rehearse, | It is a theam too high for humane Verse: | He that would know thee right, then let him look | Upon thy rare incomparable Book, | And read it o're and o're: which if he do, | Hee'l find thee King, and Priest, and Prophet, too; | And sadly see our loss, and, though in vain, | With fruitless wishes call thee back again: | Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse, | Though there were neither Monument, nor Verse. | Thy suff'rings and thy Death let no man name, | It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame. | J. H. | ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ἀπὲρ Θεῖων, Πατρικῶν τε Νόμων, ὅχ' ἄριστος, | Σκηπτέχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἐπιπτεν χερσὶν ἀλευτέων. | Then follow the Contents (4 pp.), including all that has preceded, and Royston's Advertisement. The rest of the volume consists of the 1681 *Eikon*. Title page (as fac-simile on preceding page). Verso blank. Royston's Dedication to Charles II, 1 leaf. Verso blank. Charles II's License to Royston to print, 2 leaves. Verso blank. Contents 1 leaf. "MAJESTY in MISERY," 2 leaves. Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1-256, ending "Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | THE END." (Page 220 has an oval portrait of Charles II.) It does not contain the Prayers. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. This is followed by "ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. | OR, | King James's | INSTRUCTIONS | To His | DEAREST SONNE, | HENRY | THE | PRINCE | Now reprinted by His Majesties Command, | LONDON, | Printed by M. Flesher, for Joseph Hindmarsh at the | Black-Bull in Cornhill over against the Royal- | Exchange, MDCLXXXII." Text, 14 leaves, unpaged, and pp. 1-102, ending "FINIS." 1 blank leaf.

Bound in old leather. Red edges.

*MS. Inscriptions.*—On verso of front cover, "Feb. 1819." On recto of first blank leaf, "this Cost, - - 3 6." On each Title page (3), "Ex lib: JOH: LISTER | Coll: Eman: Apr: 22<sup>do</sup>: 1682." At foot of "CAROLI Primi" (see above), "Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate | My griefs and thy too rigid fate, | I'd weep y'e world to such a strain | That it should deluge once again: | But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supplies | More from Briareus hands than Argus eyes | I'll sing thy obsequies in Trumpets sounds, | And write thy Epitaph in blood and wounds. | MONTEROSS."

Mrs. HARcourt SKRINE has a copy of this edition.

Same as B. M. 8122. aa.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $5\frac{7}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ .

*Signatures*:—A to S in eights.

*Description*:—1 blank leaf. Single page engraving of the King kneeling, with crown of thorns in his

**ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ**

THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTY  
IN HIS  
SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

ROM. VIII.

*More than Conqueror, &c.*

*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by R. Norton for R. Royston, Bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty,  
M D C LXXXV.

leaf. On verso, and the recto of next leaf is “CAROLI Primi τῷ Μακάρῳ πίτερο Epitaphium Ἐνδέκαστυλον λαζικον.” | etc. On verso “An ΕΡΙΤΑΡΗ upon KING | CHARLES. | signed “J. H.,” with, at foot, the motto, “ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θεῖων, Πατρικῶν τε Νόμων, ὅχ' ἀριστος, | Σκεπτοχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μεν

*Size of type*:—12 point.

*Paging*:—1-272 (*Eikon* 1-256).

left hand (“R. White sculp.”). At the foot of the engraving is “*Alij diutius Imperium tenuerunt, nemo tam fortiter reliquit. Tacit. Histor. Lib. 2. c. 47. p. 417.*” | Title page: “THE | LIFE and DEATH | OF | King CHARLES the First, | WRITTEN | By Dr. R. PERINCHIEF: | Together with | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | REPRESENTING | His Sacred Majesty | IN HIS | SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS. | AND A | VINDICATION | Of the Same | King CHARLES the Martyr. | PROVING | Him to be the Author of the said | Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, against a Memorandum of the Late Earl of Anglesey, and | against the Groundless Exceptions of | Dr. Walker and others. | LONDON: | Printed for H. Hindmarsh, at the Golden-Ball over against the Royal Exchange. 1697.” | Verso blank. Dedication from R. Royston to Charles II, 1 leaf. Charles II’s Authority to Royston to print, 1 leaf. “TO THE | READER.” | 1 leaf. A poem of 24 3-line verses, entitled “MAJESTY in MISERY: | or, | An Imploration to the KING of Kings. | Written by his late Majesty King CHARLES | the First, during His Captivity at Carisbrooke Castle, Anno Dom. 1648.” | 2 leaves. Text of the Life of Charles, pp. 1-288. Then “M. S. | Sanctissimi Regis & Martyris, CAROLI Primi. | Siste, Viator;” | etc., 1

ἐπιπτεν χεροὶν ἀλειτέων." Contents, 3 leaves, ending "THE END." On verso of third leaf is Royston's Advertisement of "The Works of Dr. Hammond." A second copy of the engraving of the King kneeling. Then Title page of *Eikon* (as fac-simile on preceding page). Verso blank. Royston's Dedication to Charles II, 1 leaf. Verso blank. License to Print, 2 leaves. Verso of second leaf blank. Contents, in double-column pages, 1 leaf. "MAJESTY in MISERY." 2 leaves. Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1-256, ending "Vota dabunt quæ bella negārunt." and catch-word "Prayers." (Page 220 is oval portrait of Charles II.) Then a Title page: "PRAYERS | Used by His | MAJESTY | In the time of His | SUFFERINGS. | DELIVERED TO | Doctor JUXON, | Bishop of | LONDON, | Immediately before His Death. | Also a Letter from the | PRINCE. | LONDON, Printed by R. Norton for R. Royston, Book- | seller to His most Sacred Majesty, | M D C LXXXV." | Verso blank. Text of Prayers, pp. 259-66, ending "THE END." Page 267 is "A LETTER | Which was sent from the | PRINCE | TO THE | KING; | Dated from the Hague, Jan. 23. 1648." | Pages 268-71 consist of the Relations. Page 272 is "AN EPITAPH | Upon KING | CHARLES." | signed "J. H." and ending "THE END." Then follows a Title page: "A | VINDICATION | OF | King CHARLES the Martyr, | Proving that | His MAJESTY | WAS THE | AUTHOR | OF | ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | Against a | MEMORANDUM, | Said to be Written by | The EARL of ANGLESEY: | AND | Against the EXCEPTIONS of | Dr. Walker, and Others. | The Second Edition, with Additions. | Imprimatur. | Junii 8. 1693. | CHARLES HERON. | LONDON: | Printed for H. Hindmarsh, at the Golden- | Ball over against the Royal Exchange. 1697. | Verso blank. Text of "Vindication," pp. 3-54, ending "FINIS." The last 3 pp. of the "Vindication" are devoted to "An Account of the several Impressions or Editions of King CHARLES the Martyr's | most Excellent Book, Intituled | Εικων Βασιλικη, | that have been Printed both without and with | the Prayers at the End." (For a complete list of these various "Impressions or Editions," see pp. 117-19.) 1 blank leaf at the end. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. The Contents includes the Prayers. Number of Prayers, 4.

Bound in old calf. Red edges. 26th in Wagstaffe's second list.

*Another copy.—"HENRY SYMONDS."*

This is exactly the same as the preceding, and has 2 blank leaves at the beginning and 3 at the end.

Facing the Title page is a portrait of the King kneeling. Page 220 contains a portrait of Charles II, encircled with a wreath, below which are the Royal Arms and "Augustissimi CAROLI Secundi Dei | Gratia ANGLIÆ SCOTIÆ | FRANCÆ HIBERNIÆ REX. | Bona agere & mala pati Regum est." Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1-256. Following the *Eikon* are the Prayers (4), Letter, Relations, and Epitaph, pp. 259-72.

Bound in old calf.

*MS. Inscriptions:*—On verso of front cover, "HENRY SYMONDS | Canonteign — Devon | Oct. 13<sup>th</sup> 1842." On recto of first blank leaf, "E P C - - - - ." At the top of Title page, "k/d" and "JOHN ROGERS."

The Rev. R. G. FOOKES, Lea Rectory, Gainsborough, seems to have a copy of this edition; also Dr. GEORGE GRAY, Newcastle, County Down.

Mr. GEORGE H. JACKSON, Sandhurst, Beckenham, writes of his copy:—"The book is said to come from the library of President Bradshaw, continued by his nephew at the old family seat in Cheshire. The autograph of "Henry Bradshawe" is on the first Title page.

Mr. E. MANSEL SYMPSON, Deloraine Court, Lincoln, seems to have a copy of this edition, and, as he remarks, by a strange chance it is peacefully resting next to Milton's *Defence of the English People!*

*Measurement*:—Binding  $13\frac{3}{4}$  by  $12\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $11\frac{3}{8}$  by  $6\frac{1}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—12 point.

*Signatures*:—(*Eikon*) N n n n 4; O o o o to Z z z z in fours.

*Paging*:—(*Eikon*) 647–720.

*Description*:—2 blank leaves. Recto of next blank. On verso full page engraving of Royal Arms. Full page engraving, showing bust of Charles I. on pedestal. Verso blank. Title page: “**ΒΑΣΙΑΙΚΑ. | THE WORKS | OF | King Charles | THE | MARTYR: | With a COLLECTION of DECLARATIONS, | TREATIES, and other PAPERS | concerning the *Differences* | BETWIXT | His said Majesty | AND HIS | Two Houses of PARLIAMENT. | With the History of His LIFE; as also of His TRYAL | and MARTYRDOME. | (An ornamental block.) | The Second Edition. | LONDON,** | Printed for Ric. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in | St Paul's Church-Yard, MDC LXXXVII.” On verso are 2 short Contents. “**THE | MORE PARTICULAR | CONTENTS | OF THE FIRST PART, | (Omitting the LIFE.)**” 2 leaves; on verso of second and following leaf, “**THE | MORE PARTICULAR | CONTENTS | OF THE SECOND PART.**” Life of Charles I. (Perinchief's), pp. 1–74. The Newcastle Papers, pp. 75–91. Verso of 91 blank. “**PRAYERS | Used by His MAJESTY in the time of His Troubles | and Restraint.**” Text of Prayers (7), pp. 93–5. Verso of 95 blank. The King's Messages for Peace, Declarations, Letters, Speeches, Trial and Death, &c., pp. 97–212, ending “**THE END.**” Title page: “**A | COLLECTION | OF | DECLARATIONS, | TREATIES, | AND OTHER | Principal Passages concerning the DIFFERENCES | BETWIXT | King Charles I. | AND HIS | TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. | Clearly Manifesting | The Justice of His Cause. | His Sincerity in Religion. | His Constant Endeavours for Peace. | *Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.* | (A block showing Royal Arms.) | LONDON Printed, MDCLXXXVII.**” Verso blank. Preface, 1 leaf. Text of Declarations, &c., &c., pp. 217–646, ending “**THE END.**” Double-page plate of the King kneeling, with a crown of thorns in his right hand. (There is no separate Title page to the *Eikon*.) “**EIKΩN ΒΑΣΙΑΙKH | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF HIS | SACRED MAJESTY | IN HIS | SOLITUDES and SUFFERINGS.**” Text of *Eikon*, pp. 647–720, ending “**Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt. | FINIS.**” “**An Historical TABLE of both PARTS.**” 2 leaves. 1 blank leaf. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. This, the second edition of the *Reliquiae* in folio, has the same curious double-page plates as the first, and the same red printing in the Trial to mark the deed of blood.

Bound in old calf.

27th in Wagstaffe's second list, but he gives 1686.

*MS. Inscriptions*:—On recto of first blank leaf, “**Ex dono R:verendj | D: Js: WALTON.**” | “**Observations on Mr Hā: L'Strange's History on y<sup>e</sup> Life of King | Charles I. Lond. 8°. 1654. By Dr: P:t: Heylyn. | Extran:us vapulans or a Dr:finc of thos: obs:rvations. 8°. 1658. | A short History of Kg Ch: j. from his Cradle to his grave. 1658. both by Him. | The notes added by the King (Ch: j) to Ar Bp Lauds annuall | Accounts of his Province to the King are wrote in the Kgs owne | Hand, wch is fair enough, altho' the orthography be vitious (a matt:r | common to many learned men of**

that time, and even to the A: Bishop- | Himselfe) wch y:t however I have caused to be retained. Mr. Whartons | History of Ar Bp Laud. Fol<sup>o</sup> 1695. pag. 565." | "FRAS. MEREWETHER | to his kind friend | CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH | October 27<sup>th</sup> 1825." | On recto of second blank leaf, "Certamen Religiosum, or a Confr:nc betw:en y<sup>e</sup> late Kg of England (Charl: i) | and y<sup>e</sup> Marqu:sl of Wor:ster conc:rning Religion, together with a Vindication | of the Prot:stant Cause from y<sup>e</sup> pret:nces of y<sup>e</sup> Marquis last papers wch y<sup>e</sup> necessity | of y<sup>e</sup> Kings affair:s deni:d Him opportunity to answere. p. Chr: Cartwright. 4<sup>o</sup> 1655. | . . . it may be thou art not acquainted with a Book wch now hath | been extant \* some years. y<sup>e</sup> title of it is C:rt: R:li and it contain:th in | it a Con- • it was publ:ished  
fr:nc, wch was h:ld partly by word of mouth, but chi:fly by | by writing, betwixt y<sup>e</sup> lat: Kg and y<sup>e</sup> M: Ano | 1649.  
of Wor: a stiffe d:fend: of y<sup>e</sup> Romish Religiō. | to the M: first Pl:a (I speak of y<sup>t</sup> wch pass:d betwixt them in writing the Kg  
retur: | :ned Answ:re, but y<sup>e</sup> M: replying, y<sup>e</sup> Kgs occasions would not permit Him to rejoyn | :specially y<sup>e</sup> R:ply being  
so large, and so thick lin'd with Quotations y<sup>e</sup> peru: | :sall and examination of it would require no  
little time. I know | there are \* some, who Account this Confr:nc noe better than | supposititious,  
wch r:flecting vpon y<sup>e</sup> publishers of it, D<sup>r</sup>. Baily, | H: hath lately in a preface to a \* Booke, wch  
He hath s:st forth | of his own, vindicated Himselfe and asserted the Confer:nc Ep:to . . ." \* See ye Advertisment to  
ye Reader prefixed to the  
late Kgs works set forth  
together in one volum.  
\* it is intituled Herba Pari:  
tis or ye wall Flower.

The travels of old folios are often singular. The grandsons of the famous old Master of Trinity have given me very kindly aid, and as they incidentally said that they did not know what had become of their ancestor's copy of a folio edition, my eyes turned to a spot on my bookshelves, where I knew it was resting. I bought it some years ago from Messrs. Bull & Auvache, near to the British Museum.

Miss MARIAN ROALFE COX, 107, Earl's Court Road, Kensington, seems to have a copy of this edition; also Mr. F. WYER, The Pleasance, Kenilworth.

*Another copy.—LARGE PAPER. Binding measurement: 17<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> by 11<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.*

Binding in mottled calf, with centre panel, gilt extra. Gilt edges. (By Riviere?)

Same as B. M. G. 70.

The edition just described was published for James the Second. Though most readers are familiar with the published writings of James the First, probably but a very small circle know of this collection from the pen of James the Second:—"Memoirs | of the | English Affairs, | Chiefly Naval, | From the Year 1660, to 1673, | written by | His Royal Highness | James Duke of York, | Under his administration | of Lord High Admiral, &c. | Published from his original Letters, and other | Royal Authorities. | Nothing is so capable of giving a true account of Story, as | Letters are; which describe Actions while they are Alive and | Breathing; whereas all other Relations are of Actions Past | and Dead. | Jonathan Swift. | London: | Printed in the Year M.DCC.XX.IX. | (Price 5s.)" My copy has the "LITTLECOTE" book-plate.

Probably still fewer have ever heard of a thin folio volume commemorating the obsequies of James the Second. The Title runs:—"Sacra Exequialia | in Funere | Jacobi II. | Magnae Britanniae Regis | exhibita | ab eminentiss. et reverendiss. principe | Carolo | Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae | Cardinali Barberino | In Templo sui Tituli Sancti Laurentii | in Lucina, | descripta | a Carolo de Aquino | Societatis Jesu. | (Royal Arms.) | Romæ typis Barberinis. MDCCII. | Excudebat Dominicus Antonius Hercules in via Parionis. | Superiorum facultate." The work contains a large number of copper-plate engravings. Some are very curious, and it would take a long time to describe them.

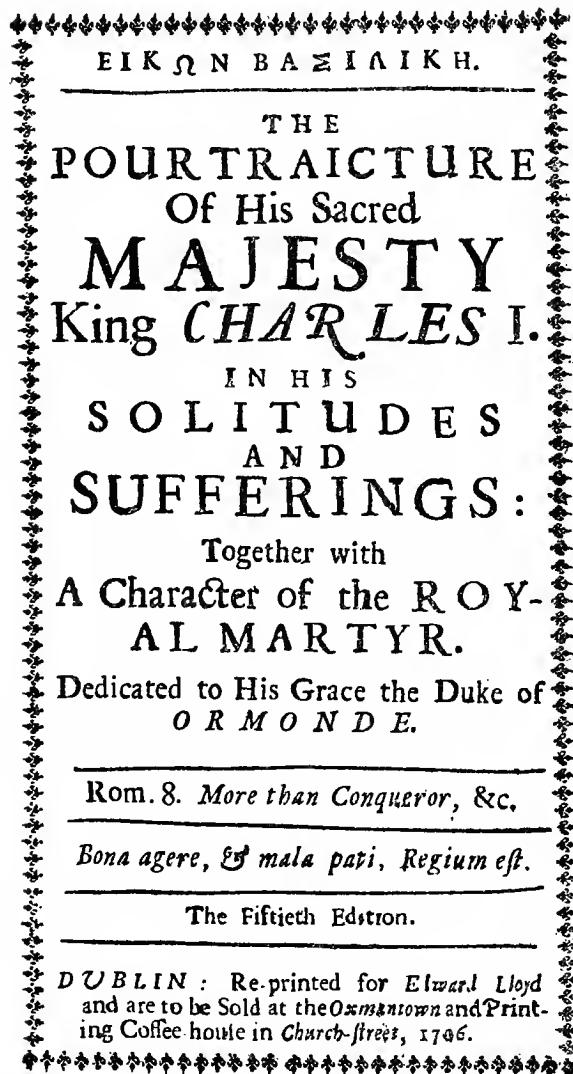
The name of Peter Heylin (*see* preceding page) will recall to the minds of students the picture of a very remarkable character. *Cates' Dictionary of General Biography* (Messrs. Longmans & Co. 1867.) speaks of him thus:—"Born at Burford, in Oxfordshire, in 1600. He became a student of Hart Hall, Oxford, but afterwards obtained a fellowship in Magdalen College, which he resigned in 1629, on being appointed chaplain to Charles the First. . . . In 1631 he published his *History of St. George*, for which the king gave him the rectory of Hemmingford, in Huntingdonshire, and a prebend of Westminster, to which was added the living of Houghton, in the bishopric of Durham. Other church preferment followed; but, becoming obnoxious to the Parliamentarians, he was soon ejected, and his private property was also sequestered. . . . He died in 1662, having shortly before been reinstated in all his former appointments by Charles the Second." Before me is a little old calf-bound volume, with the armorial book-plate of GEORGE FREDERICK BELTZ. The work is known as *Heylyn's Help to English History*, and this is a copy of the 1709 edition. The very first edition came out in 1641 under the borrowed name of Robert Hall. Just as we all read so much of Samuel Johnson's forcible character in exploring his Dictionary, so in the pages of this catalogue we see before us the impulsive loyalty of Peter Heylin, thus:—"CHARLES I. Second Monarch of Great Britain, &c. most impiously murdered by a villainous crew of his traitorous rebellious Subjects, Jan. 30th 1648." The same author also wrote a *Life of Archbishop Laud*, whose memory has lately been honoured by the appearance of two new biographies. It is remarkable that we always find Charles the First associating with clergy of the thoughtful, learned, and cultivated type, such as Earle, Sanderson, and Symmons, rather than with men such as our friend Peter.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $6\frac{1}{2}$  by  $3\frac{7}{8}$ ; text  $5\frac{1}{4}$   $2\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Size of type*:—Long Primer.

*Signatures*:—A 4 leaves; B to N in eights.

*Paging*:—1—188 (*Eikon 1—172*).



*Description*:—Title page (as fac-simile). On verso “The Explanation of the | Emblem. | Though clogg'd with Weights” | &c. “A LIST of the Gentlemen that Subscribed | as an Encouragement | for Re-printing this | Book.” | occupies the next leaf (see below). “TO HIS GRACE | JAMES | DUKE OF | ORMONDE, &c.” | 2 leaves; on the verso of second leaf is “The Explanation of the | Frontispiece.” | beginning “A Sacred heat inspires my Soul.” Text, pp. 1—188, ending with a note: “\*See the Kings Speech on the Scaffold.” Contents (including all matter following the *Eikon*, consisting of Prayers (4), Letter, the Relations (3), Epitaphs (2), “Majesty in Misery,” The Character of the Royal Martyr, and Dr. Lotius’ Speech), 2 leaves. On verso of second is an Advertisement, the last paragraph of which is:—

“There is Printed the secret History of the Calves-head Club, which contains an Account of Meetings | and Clubs kept by Regisides on the 30th of January; with the several Anthems and Songs Compos'd | and made Use on that Day, by way of Ridiculing the Clergy of the Established Church, and of the Royal Martyr’s Sufferings: To which is prefixed Remarks | on the said pretended Anthems and Songs, and Reflections on the Club, &c. together with a Character of these Calves-head Heroes, Price one Shilling; | and are to be Sold at the Oxmantown and Printing | Coffee-house in Church-street; where also may be had | the Tale of a Tub, Price 3 Shillings and 6 pence Bound.”

1 blank leaf at end. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. I do not think this edition had a frontispiece. The “Subscribers” mentioned above are as follows:—

“Dr. Morton Bishop of Kildare, and one of Her Majesty’s most Honourable Privy Council. | Dr. Whitneel Bishop of Kilmore, and one of Her Majesty’s most Honourable Privy Council. | Dr. Pooley Bishop of Raphoe, and one of Her Majesty’s most Honourable Privy Council. | Dr. Hickman Bishop of London-derry, and one of Her Majesty’s most

Honourable Privy Council. | Dr. Smith Bishop of Limerick. | Sir Charles Feilding, Knight, Governor of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, and one of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. | Major General Fairfax, Governor of Limerick, and one of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. | Dr. Owen Lloyd Fellow of Trinity-College, Dublin, and Professor of Divinity. | The Reverend William Lloyd Fellow of Trinity-College, Dublin. | James Mecartney, Esq; one of the Justices of the Queen's Bench, Dublin. | Richard Lock, Esq; Burgess in the present Parliament for the Town of Kildare. | Andrew Young, Esq; Burgess in this present Parliament for Ardfert in the County of Kerry. | Wilkins, Esq; Counsellor at Law. | Peter Goodwin, Gent. Clerk of the Kitchen to His Grace the Duke of Ormonde, and Steward of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. | The Reverend Mr. Moor Minister of Bruff near Lime-rick. | The Reverend Mr. Pearson of St. Michan's, Dublin. | The Reverend Peter Jackson Curate of St. Andrew's, Dublin. | Mr. Richard Sennet, Esq; Register of the Diocese of Armagh. | The Reverend Mr. Hartlib, Chaplain to His Grace the Duke of Ormonde. | Captain Stuart in Aungier-street. | Benjamin Chitwood, Esq; Solicitor to the Commissioners of the Revenue. | John Winstanly, Gent. | Mr. John Mapis, Esq; | Mr. Thornton of Finglas. | William Dowdall Bookseller in Skinner-Row. | The Reverend Mr. Roberts. | Colonel Thomas Ryley Barrack-Master of Dublin. | James Donelan, Esq; | The Reverend Moses Davis at Manner-Cunningham near Strabane. | Mr. Robert Fox, Esq; | Wallis, Esq; Counsellor at Law. | John Spratlin, Gent. one of the Clerks at the Custom-house. | Mr. Richard Cockey. | Dr. Lewis Davis. | Mr. John Brown. | Mr. Thomas Kirby. | Captain Jonathan Stukely. | Mr. James Stanley. | Mr. William Jones. | Mr. Phillip Walter. | Owen Williams, Esq; | Mr. Jonathan Wilkinson. | Mr. Wilkinson, Chymist. | Mr. John Riley. | Mr. William Sanders. | Captain Tooley, Provost Marshal."

Bound in old leather. Black edges.

*MS. Inscription:*—On verso of front cover, “Ex Libris ROBERTI TRAVERS, M.B. à Coll. S. Trinitatis, Dubliniensis.”

Mr. E. J. JONES, 43, Arlington Street, Glasgow, has a copy.

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## 66.

*Title Page:*—“ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | THE | POURTRAITURE | Of His Sacred MAJESTY | King CHARLES I. | IN HIS | Solitudes and Sufferings. | Rom. VIII. More than Conqueror, &c. | Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est. | To which is added, | The ROYAL MARTYR; or, The Life and Death of the said KING. | WRITTEN BY | RICHARD PERENCHIEF, D.D. one of His Majesty's Chaplains. | LONDON, | Printed for D. Browne, J. Walpole, J. and J. Knapton | R. Knaplock, J. Wyat, R. Wilkin, D. Midwinter, J. Bonwick, | A. Bettefworth, R. Robinson, G. Bowyer, J. Downing, | W. Mears, R. Gosling, W. and J. Innys, T. Ward, A. Ward, | S. Birt, and B. Motte. 1727.”

*Measurement:*—Binding  $7\frac{1}{16}$  by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ ; text  $6\frac{1}{4}$  by  $3\frac{5}{8}$ .

*Size of type:*—Pica.

*Signatures:*—a 4 leaves; (b) 2 leaves; B to Gg6 in eights.

*Paging:*—1-224 (*Eikon 1-207*); 8-232.

*Description:*—2 blank leaves. Folding plate of the King kneeling, with a crown of thorns in his right hand (“P. Fruytits Delin: | A. Hertocks Sculp: | Antwerp.”). Underneath the engraving is “CAROLUS I. Οὐ εἰ ἦν ἀξιος δ κόσμου. Heb: II. 38. Cum Privilegio | Regiae Majestatis. | Ecce Spectaculum dignum aa quod respiciat Deus operi suo intentus, | Vir fortis cum malâ fortunâ compofitus. Sen: de Provid: c. 2. | Aº 16 .” Title page (as above). Verso blank. Dedication: “TO THE | Most Serene and Sacred MAJESTY | CHARLES II. | By the GRACE of GOD, | KING | OF | GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, | and IRELAND, | Defender of the Faith, | Restorer of the CHURCH's Liberty, | The NATION's PEACE, | Son and Heir of CHARLES I. | These MEDITATIONS of a

Pious Soul, | Dictates of a Royal Wisdom, | COUNSELS of a Peaceful Spirit, | Compos'd by CHARLES the Martyr, | Hnmbly Dedicateth | Your MAJESTY's | Moft Devoted | Subject and Servant, | R. Royston." Verso blank. Contents (of *Eikon* and Prayers), 2 leaves. Verso of second leaf blank. "MAJESTY in MISERY:" 2 leaves. Text, pp. 1-207, ending "Vota dabunt quæ bella negârunt." Verso of 207 blank. "PRAYERS | Used by His | MAJESTY | In the Time of His | SUFFERINGS. | Delivered to Dr. JUXON, Bishop | of London, immediately before his Death. | Also a Letter from the PRINCE." Verso blank. Text of Prayers, Letter, Relations, and Epitaph, pp. 211-24. Title page: "THE | Royal Martyr: | or, THE | LIFE and DEATH | OF | KING | Charles I. | ROMANS VIII. | —more than Conqueror. | *Bona agere, & mala pati Regium est.* | LONDON: | Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXVII." Verso blank. R. Royston's Dedication, 1 leaf. "TO THE | READER." 1 leaf, signed "Rich. Perrinchief." Text of "THE | LIFE | OF | King CHARLES I." pp. 7-223. On verso of 223 is "AN | APPENDIX. | His MAJESTY's Declaration," etc., pp. 224-9. Then follows "M. S. | Sanctissimi Regis & Martyris, CAROLI Primi. | Siste, VIATOR;" | etc., 1 page (230). "CAROLI Primi τε Μακαρίτε Epita- | phium Ἐνδεκασυλλαβικόν." | 1 leaf (pp. 231-2), signed "Tho. PIERCE, D.D. Coll. Magd. | apud Oxon. Praes." | and ending "FINIS." Contents (of "the Life"), 2 leaves. 2 blank leaves at the end. The Contents (of *Eikon*) includes the Prayers. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. Number of Prayers, 4.

Bound in old leather.

MS. Inscriptions:—On recto of second blank leaf, "The Life Sufferings | & Death of King | Charles the first of ever | Blessed Memory." | "JOHN & MARY GARDNER. | March 1, 1783." | (In another handwriting) "WM. BARBER."

B. M. 808. e. 1. and G. 1857. are this edition.

The Rev. W. FLACK writes from Cape Colony that he has a copy of this edition; also Mr. G. M. LIND, 36, Dingwall Road, Croydon, seems to have a copy.

## 67.

"THE | WORKS | OF | King Charles I. | both | civil and sacred. | with the | life and reign | of that | prince. | london: | Printed by T. Read, in Dogwell-Court, White-Fryars, Fleet-street. | MDCCXXXV." A folio volume. The *Eikon* occupies pp. 234-340.

B. M. 12270. K.

## 68.

"ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | ODER | ABILDUNG DES KÖNIGES | CARL | in seinen Drarsalen | und gefänglicher Berwahrung. | Von Ihm selbst | in Englandischer Sprache beschrieben, | und | wegen seiner Würde ins Deutsche | ubersetzt | anietzo aber | mit einer Vorrede herausgegeben | von | D. Daniel Gottfried Schreber. | In dem allen überwinden wir weit, um deswillen, der uns | geliebet hat. Röm. 8. | Dresden und Leipzig, | bey Friedrich Heckel, 1747." "Vorrede" 29 leaves. Translation of Earle's Dedication 2 leaves. Text pp. 1-396. In eights.

B. M. 8122. a.

## 69.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $7\frac{1}{8}$  by  $4\frac{1}{4}$ ; text 6 by  $3\frac{3}{16}$ .

*Signatures*:—B to R, in twelves; S 6 leaves.

“THE | WORKS | OF | That Great Monarch, and Glorious Martyr, | King CHARLES I. | IN TWO VOLUMES. | VOLUME I. | CONTAINING, [ . . . . [Contents of Vol. I.] ] ABERDEEN: | Printed by J. Chalmers: | For WILLIAM COKE, Bookseller in LEITH. | MDCCCLXVI.” Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1–156, ending “*Vota dabunt quæ bella negarunt.*” Then follow the Newcastle Papers, His Majesty’s Prayers, Messages for Peace, Declarations, Letters, and Speeches, pp. 156–394. Folding plate (a reduction of Hertocks’ engraving), by T. Phinn, Edinburgh. VOL. II. contains: Declarations, Newport Papers, Oxford and Uxbridge Treaties, His Majesty’s Trial, etc., and Verses on the Death of the King, etc., pp. 1–361. Number of Prayers, 7.

Bound in old calf, and lettered “K. CHARLES 1ST WORKS.”

B. M. 600. c. 29, 30.

Miss JESSIE WATSON, Briery Yards, Hawick, seems to have a copy of this edition.

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## 70.

*Measurement*:—Binding 8 by 5; text  $5\frac{1}{8}$  by 3.

*Signatures*:—A 2 leaves; B to U, in eights.

“ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ: | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF | HIS SACRED MAJESTIE | IN HIS | SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS. | ‘More then Conquerour,’ &c.—Rom. viii. | *Bona agere, et mali pati, Regium est.* | LONDON. M.DC.XLVIII. | RE-PRINTED FOR C. AND J. RIVINGTON, | ST. PAUL’S CHURCH-YARD, | AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL. | 1824.” Contents 1 leaf. Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1–302, ending “*Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt. | THE END.*” The edition contains a frontispiece “Engraved by J. Swaine.” It is after Marshall’s engraving representing the King exactly half-face.

Armorial book-plate, “HARRY KERBY POTT.”

Bound in stiff boards.

The same as B. M. 8122. aa. 13.

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## 71.

“MÉMOIRES DE LUDLOW.” “ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ou image royale; apologie attribuée à Charles 1<sup>er</sup>. et publiée peu de jours après sa mort.” “Notice sur l’eikon Basilike,” 9 leaves, signed “F. G.” Text of the *Eikon*, 316 pp. 8vo. Paris, 1827.

This work is in Tome VIII of the Collection des Mémoires relatifs a la Révolution d’Angleterre.

## 72.

*Measurement*:—Binding  $7\frac{1}{2}$  by 5; text  $4\frac{7}{8}$  by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ .

*Signatures*:—A to Q in eights.

“EIKON BASILIKÉ. | THE | PORTRAITURE | OF HIS MAJESTY | KING CHARLES 1<sup>ST</sup>. | *New Edition.* | LONDON: | D. STEWART, WARWICK CHAMBERS, PATERNOSTER ROW. | 1876.”

*Title page*:—“EIKON BASILIKÉ. | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF | HIS SACRED | MAJESTIE | IN | HIS SOLITUDES | AND | SUFFERINGS. | ROM. 8. | *More then Conquerour, &c.* | *Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.* | (Royal Arms.) | Reprinted | In R.M. for James Young, 1648.” (See Title page of No. 24.) Preface, 2 leaves. “Majesty in Misery,” 2 leaves. Contents, 2 leaves. Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1–222, ending “VOTA DABUNT QUÆ BELLA NEGARUNT.” Then follow the King’s Private Prayers (4), pp. 223–7.

Bound in red cloth. Lettering and portrait of the King gilt on cover.

## 73.

*Another edition* (paper covers) of the foregoing, but printed in a different type. It has on the Title page the imprint, “LONDON: | D. STEWART, | 152, FLEET STREET. | 1879.” Portrait of Charles I. on cover.

Mr. WESTELL, the well-known dealer in second-hand theological and miscellaneous literature, in Oxford Street, close to Tottenham Court Road, has a supply of cloth-bound copies of this edition, for sale at a price which I am ashamed to name.

## 74.

*An edition dated 1869*, published by JAMES PARKER & CO. It is similar to that issued by them ten years later, but that it of course does not contain Miss Phillimore’s Preface. It has a “Notice” of 1 leaf, which concludes with stating:—“The text of the present edition is that of Dr. Perenchieff, 1727, corrected by one of the earlier editions of 1648.”

B. M. 8122. aa.

## 75.

*Measurement*:—Binding 7 by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ; text  $4\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{7}{8}$ .

*Signatures*:—a to d in eights; e 2 leaves; B to R in eights; S 4 leaves; T 4 leaves.

“ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. | THE | PORTRAITURE | OF HIS MAJESTY | KING CHARLES I. | *A New Edition,* with a *Preface* | BY | CATHERINE MARY PHILLIMORE. | Oxford and London: | JAMES PARKER AND CO. | 1879.” *Title page*:—“Εικὼν Βασιλική | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF | HIS SACRED | MAJESTIE | IN | HIS SOLITUDES | AND | SUFFERINGS. | ROM. 8. | *More*

*then Conquerour, &c. | Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est. |* (Royal Arms.) | Reprinted | *In R.M.* for James Young, 1648." (See Title page No. 24.) Preface, pp. i-lxiv. Contents, 2 leaves. Text of *Eikon*, pp. 1-259, ending "VOTA DABUNT QUÆ BELLA NEGARUNT." After the *Eikon* are the Prayers (4), and an Appendix containing "Majesty in Misery" and other verses on the King.

Bound in grey cloth. Gilt lettering.

Copies of this edition may be obtained of Messrs. PARKER, 27, Broad Street, Oxford, and 6, Southampton Street, Strand, at 2s. 6d. net.

Miss Phillimore's Preface was first contributed to Vol. XIV of the *Church Quarterly Review*.

The same as B. M. 10805. aa. 8.

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## (76)

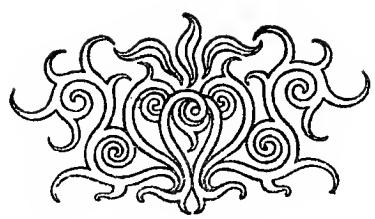
*Measurement:*—Binding  $7\frac{3}{8}$  by  $5\frac{1}{8}$ ; text 5 by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ .

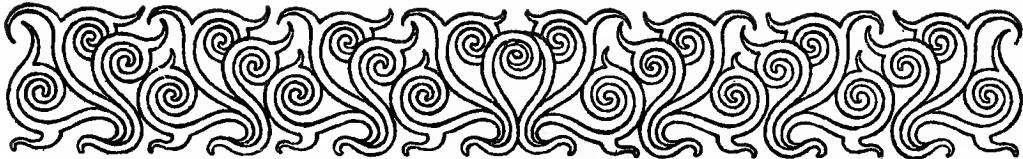
*Signatures:*—A to Q in eights.

*Title page:*—“*Eikōν Βασιλική. | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF | HIS SACRED MAJESTIE | IN | HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS. | A | REPRINT OF THE EDITION OF 1648, | AND | A FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL FRONTISPICE. | WITH AN INTRODUCTION THROWING FRESH LIGHT | UPON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE WORK. | BY | EDWARD J. L. SCOTT, M.A., OXON., | Assistant Keeper of MSS., British Museum. | LONDON: | ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER Row, E.C. | 1880.*” Preface, pp. i-xliii. *Eikon*, 222 pp., followed by 4 Prayers. Mr. Scott has had the three-quarter folding plate, with Explanation at foot, reproduced for this edition. The text is from the 1879 (D. Stewart) edition. By the kind permission of Mr. Scott, and of Mr. Elliot Stock, the Preface, in full, accompanies this Bibliography. (See pp. 123-42.)

Bound in white vellum. Red edges.

B. M. 8122. bb. 3.





## ADDENDA.

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Below will be found mention of copies whereof their owners have very kindly written to me, but which there was not room to refer to in the descriptions given in the preceding pages. The number indicates the edition.

1.—**ELHAM PARISH LIBRARY.** Of the copy belonging to this Library the Rev. W. Wodehouse writes from Elham Vicarage, Canterbury:—

“The library was bequeathed to the Parish of Elham in 1809 by a Mr. Lee Warley, of Canterbury. The most important part of it came to him by inheritance from the Oxenden family, and belonged to Mr. Henry Oxenden, the first cousin of the first baronet of that name. Mr. Oxenden was born in 1608, and died in 1668. On the back of p. 269 of the *Eikon Basilike* are two short extracts from the book, in his handwriting, both from p. 237:—‘Under the colours of . . . populacie;’ the other, ‘nothing seemed lesse . . . for manie yeares.’ In another book of the library, on the inside of the cover, in the same handwriting, is the following:—‘That which makes it apparent that the Kings book called *Eikon Basilike* was of his own penning is that in Nasby fight divers of the papers were taken being the same in effect with those printed, besides what Capt Harris told mee in the presence of the L. of Northampton.’ This must have been James Compton, the third Earl of Northampton, who with his father and brothers took such a leading part on Charles’s side. In the library we have also the second edition of the *Eikonoklastes*, and on the fly leaf, the following interesting note, also in Mr. Oxenden’s handwriting:—‘The man that wrot this booke is now growne blind and is led up and downe witnesse G<sup>r</sup> vw. July 11. 1652.’ I copy part of the Title page of our copy of the *Eiconoclastes*:—‘EIKONOKLASTES | in | Answer | To a Book Intitl’d | EIKON BASILIKE, | the | Portrature of his Sacred Majesty | in his Solitudes and Sufferings | The Author J. M. | . . . . . | Publish’d now the Second time, and much enlarg’d. | London Printed by Thomas Newcomb in Thame street over | agains Baynards-Castle MDCL.’”

1.—“**ELIZA: COPE** 1648: Ian: 30th.” Such is the inscription at foot of Title page of a copy just lent to me by Mrs. FRANCIS, 21, Church Street, Warwick. The Royalists, as mentioned by Wordsworth and Scott, always alleged that the *Eikon* was issued on the day of the King’s death; whereas Mrs. Gauden declared that it was not finished until some days later.

2.—**LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY** has four copies of the *Eikon*, as follows:—Two copies of No. 2 (one of which has MS. Notes by Edward Solly, and his book-plate, as well as that of its present owner; the other has the book-plates of R. Dyneley and Lord Amherst, and is in a very fine black and gilt binding); also a copy each of Nos. 19 and 47.

2.—**Mr. R. BURWELL**, of Milton-under-Wychwood, Chipping Norton.

2.—**Miss DOWDEN**, Lynn House, Gillsland Road, Edinburgh.

5.—In the **GUILDHALL LIBRARY OF THE CITY OF LONDON**, where Mr. Welch and his staff give every facility to studious readers, there is a copy of this edition, the press-mark being a. 8. 1.; also in the Clockmakers’ Company Library in the Guildhall is a copy of No. 8, the press-mark being C. R. 1. 7.

6.—Mr. BERNARD QUARITCH (the "Bismarck of Quickadilly") bought a perfect copy of this edition at the sale of the John Tudor Frere books, at Sotheby's, on February 14, 1896. It is in black morocco, richly gilt, gilt edges, and has had blue silk ribbons. *MS. Inscription:* "SARAH EGLETON | her Booke | 1678."

6.—Miss URQUHART, 5, St. Colme Street, Edinburgh.

10.—The BRASSEY INSTITUTE, HASTINGS. (Copy described by Mr. Edward H. Marshall.)

10.—Mr. ALFRED H. TARLETON, Breakspears, Uxbridge.

12.—ELY CATHEDRAL LIBRARY; also a copy of No. 40.

15.—Mr. F. W. PIXLEY, 23, Linden Gardens, W., has a fine copy of this edition.

19.—YORK MINSTER LIBRARY contains a copy, and another is in the possession of the Rev. Canon RAINES, the Cathedral Librarian, who has been engaged for some years in preparing for publication a Catalogue of the Library.

22.—Mrs. EMERY, the College, Ely, has a copy of this edition, which has descended in her family. It is bound in old leather, with clasps; a crown and "C. R." on the binding. *MS. Inscription:* "IOHANNIS SHERGOLDI | Liber Sum."

31.—The "JOHN CRANE | FRANCIS FINCH" volume described in the *Times* of Feb. 29th, 1896, is a copy of this edition.

31.—Mr. G. ALDERSON-SMITH, Wheatcroft, Scarborough.

31.—Mr. G. T. PEIRSE DUNCOMBE, 25, Queen's Gate.

31.—The Rev. J. R. T. EATON, Denton Rectory, Harleston.

31.—Mr. GEORGE A. MACIRONE, 126, Adelaide Road, Hampstead.

32.—Mrs. J. FITZ-GERALD BANNATYNE.

37.—Mr. R. C. CHRISTIE, late President of the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

37 or 38.—Mrs. E. WALES JOHNSON, Ivy Cottage, South Molton.

37 or 38.—Mr. H. D. POULTON, of the India Office.

39.—Mr. BERNARD C. STEINER, Librarian, the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore City.

40.—The Rev. HENRY ERSKINE HILL, the Parsonage, Maryhill, Glasgow.

40.—Mr. LEWIS MERYON, 84, Philbeach Gardens, S.W., has a copy. *MS. Inscription:* "ROBERT BARTLET His Book Hand and Pen."

42, 43 or 44.—Mr. EDWARD H. BOARDMAN, Glen Andred, Groombridge, Tunbridge Wells.

44.—A copy, belonging to the writer, with the names of "FRANCIS BARON" and "GEO. PRETYMAN." Whether found in English or Latin, the memorials of this time have a character which is at once pithy, pious, and picturesque. Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, Vol. VIII, p. 546, states:—

"SOUTH LYNN. In the chancel lies a marble gravestone with the Arms of Baron (in chief, a crescent, and decrescent, and in base, a mullet):

"Juxta patris tumulum charissimi et medicinæ doctoris eximii, hic  
situs est Andr. Baron M.A. collegium Petrense apud Cantabrig: utrosq,  
alumnos fovebat, utroq; sociorum titulo merito adornavit, mater summa  
cum amore filios amplexa est, et filii matrem.  
Virtutes modestia semper vetuit resonari, silet itaq; monumentum.  
Patris obitum proximus indicat lapis, hic filii qui quicquid fuit

mortale depositus Aug. 14 A.D. 1719, aetatis 74. utriq; hic juxta pace requiescant utriq;  
ad gloriam juxta resurgent.

Hic jacet Sam Baron M.D. qui post hanc vitam quam bonis operibus,  
et vera pietate ornaverat, cælo donatus est 29 April A.D. 1673.

Hic jacet Francisca Pretyman filia Sam Baron M.D. uxor Petri Pretyman  
obt 22 Decr. 1666.

Sub hoc marmore dormit Francisca Baron, filia unica Thomas Goddard,  
armig. et uxor charissima Sam. Baron, M.D. obt. Junii 1667."

Le Neve's *Monumenta Anglicana*, Vol. II, p. 68, states:—

"In the chancel of South Lynn Church, in Norfolk:

"Hic jacet Francisca Pretyman filia Samuelis Baron in Medicina Doctoris  
et uxor Petri Pretyman Generosi, una cum filia sua Elizabetha eodem  
in Loculo. Illa 22<sup>o</sup> Hoc vero 24<sup>o</sup> die ejusdem Decembris Terram cum  
Celio commutavit Anno Domini 1666."

45 and 68.—Mr. F. E. R. POLLARD-URQUHART.

47.—Mrs. HENRY CODDINGTON, 4, Queen's Gardens, Windsor.

47.—Mr. T. W. ERLE, 1, Cambridge Gate, Regent's Park.

47.—Miss E. W. GOODMAN, 155, Haverstock Hill.

47.—Miss I. B. LEIGH, West View, Croxley Green.

47.—The Rev. H. MAYNARD SMITH, Billesdon, Leicester.

64.—The Rev. E. J. JONAS, 43, Arlington Street, Glasgow.

The Rev. W. W. HAWDON, the Rectory, Woodhead, Fyvie, N.B., has one of the 1648  
mixed twelves.

After completing the "make-up" for this work and giving all particulars, a copy has come  
to hand which adds another to the number of the 1649 editions. It seems to be a  
precursor of No. 32, not having, and not professing to have, the Prayers.

Just at the last moment a copy of the Cork Edition (which I had begun to think never  
existed) has been kindly brought to me by Mr. ROBERT DAY, F.S.A., of 3, Sidney Place, Cork.  
Mr. Day has made a special study of Cork imprints, and this is the earliest date which he has  
found. It is as follows:—

*Measurement*:—Binding 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  by 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ ; text 3 $\frac{7}{8}$  by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

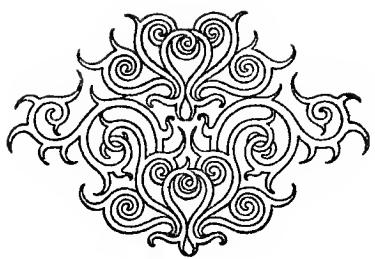
*Size of type*:—Long primer.

*Signatures*:—a 2 leaves (the Contents); A to O 4 in twelves (A 1 is signed, in error, B.)

*Paging*:—1-320.

*Description*:—3 blank leaves. A folding-leaf wood block version of the usual frontispiece. Title  
page: "EIKON ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ | THE | POURTRAICTURE | OF HIS SACRED | MAIESTY |  
IN HIS SOLITVDES | AND | SVFFERINGS. | ROM. 8. | More then Conquerour, &c. | Bona  
agere, & mala pati, | Regium est. | (An ornament.) | CORCK, | Printed by PETER DE  
PIENNE, | in the yeare of our Lord God, 1649." Verso blank. The Contents, 1 leaf and  
recto of next. Verso blank. Text pp. 1-320, ending "Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt."  
Two blank leaves. Chapter 28 is numbered in Contents and in text. The edition does  
not include anything beyond the *Eikon*.

In contemporary leather binding, and has two of the fine Ex Libris of its present owner.





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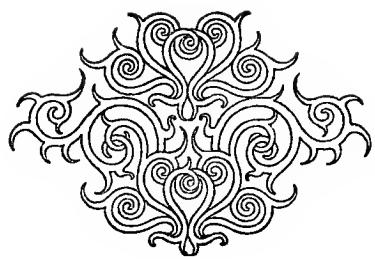
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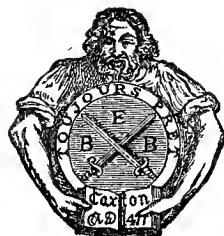
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